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CHAPLAIN IN ORDINARY TO THE QUEEN,
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ERRATUM.

Page 170, line 14, for *Convocation* read *Convention*.

THE

HISTORY,

&c.

CHAPTER XXI.

THE EARLIEST ASSISTANCE OF THE SOCIETY FOR PROMOTING CHRISTIAN KNOWLEDGE TO THE DANISH MISSIONS IN INDIA.

A.D. 1709—1749.

Ziegenbalg and Plutscho, the first Danish Missionaries.

THE department of Christian enterprise which witnessed, more signally than any other, the sympathy and co-operation of the Church of England with the Protestant congregations of Europe, was that portion of India in which Ziegenbalg and Plutscho founded the first Danish Mission. The first of these devoted men was born in Upper Lusatia, June 14, 1683; and, losing both parents in infancy, was indebted to the pious care of an elder sister for the training of his early years. He was, in due time, transferred to the University of Halle, where, with his fellow-student Plutscho, he became the pupil of Professor Francke. By the advice of Francke, to whom he had opened his whole heart,

Ziegenbalg resolved to embrace the offer made to him by Frederic IV. of Denmark to go forth and preach the Gospel to the heathen of Tranquebar, a settlement upon the Coromandel coast, which the Danes had purchased, in 1618, from the Rajah of Tanjore. Plutscho rejoiced to be the associate of Ziegenbalg in this work. They were ordained by Bornman, Bishop of Zealand, (the Island on which Copenhagen stands,) and embarked for their destination in November, 1705. The chief opposition, which they were at first called upon to encounter, was that of the Danish officers in the settlement; but, by patience and perseverance, they overcame it, and were soon enabled to show good proof that their work was not in vain. In addition to a Church built, and opened by them for the use of the Mission, Ziegenbalg acquired a knowledge of the Tamŭl language, sufficient to enable him to complete a version of the New Testament in that tongue, and to carry on a successful ministry among the natives.

Grundler and others follow.

In this latter duty, he was greatly assisted by Ernest Grundler, who, with two other Missionaries, joined him in 1709. And although, soon after their arrival, fresh difficulties beset the Mission, the weight of them was greatly lightened by the cheering intelligence, at the same time announced, that the Church of England was putting forth her strength to help them. Anxious, therefore, to discover fresh openings, through which the heart of the native population might be more effectually reached, Ziegenbalg left Tranquebar, for a time, in charge of his brother Missionaries, and proceeded, in 1718, by way of Cuddalore, and Fort St. David, to Madras. He there met with a most friendly welcome from Mr. Lewis, the English Chaplain at the

factory, who confirmed the happy tidings that England was ready to assist him in the prosecution of his work; and informed him that The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge had already opened a communication with him upon the subject. Ziegenbalg found, at the same time, another letter awaiting his arrival in Madras, from Boehm, Chaplain to Prince George of Denmark, which assured him that help from the same quarter was at hand.

Boehm, Chaplain to Prince George of Denmark, translates the report of their proceedings.

Boehm, a man of sincere piety and great learning, was already a member of the Society, when the first reports reached England, in 1708-9, of the commencement of the good work at Tranquebar. He immediately translated and brought them under the notice of its other members, and thereby enlisted their best sympathies in the same cause. The story of these faithful Danes thus became known in many a distant corner of the land, and stirred the hearts of some who thus, for the first time, were made acquainted with their names.

Remarkable instance of the interest excited by it in the Rectory of Epworth, Lincolnshire.

A remarkable instance of the interest thereby excited is found in the notices which have come down to us of Wesley, then Rector of Epworth, in Lincolnshire, and father of the founder of Methodism. He appears to have been in active communication with The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge from an early period, and to have established a similar association in his own parish. The following entry, for instance, occurs in the Minutes:

7th May, 1702. Ordered, that Mr. Wesley's account of the Religious Society at Epworth be again read at next meeting.

Again:

14th May, 1702. Mr. Wesley's account of the Religious Society at Epworth was again read, according to order.

Ordered, that Mr. Wesley be desired to attend at next meeting, about the charity school mentioned in his said account.

Wesley, being thus brought into direct and close relation with the Society, became known to its members, and took a personal interest in its proceedings. We learn also, from another quarter, that he was diligent in his attendance as a member of the Lower House of Convocation; and that, in his absence from home, Mrs. Wesley began and continued the practice of praying with, and reading a sermon to, her own family, and about thirty or forty of the parishioners, who assembled for that purpose on Sunday evenings in an apartment of the Rectory. One of the causes which strengthened within her the desire to be thus zealous and active, was an account of the Danish Missionaries, which she happened to find in her husband's study, and by the perusal of which she was much impressed[1]. This, doubtless, was the account which Boehm had translated, and which Wesley, having become acquainted with it through his connexion with the Society, had brought down with him from the metropolis to his country parsonage. Is it not also more than probable, that, whilst the perusal of the heroic devotion of Ziegenbalg, and Plutscho, and Grundler, in the distant regions of the East, stimulated the ardour of his wife's earnest piety, she may, by reciting and dwelling upon them before her children, have helped to awaken a kindred spirit of enthusiasm

[1] Southey's Life of Wesley, i. 15.

in the breast of that young boy, who had been, but a short time before, snatched so miraculously from the burning flames; whose spirit she was then imbuing with the first lessons of Christian truth; and whose followers have since carried forth his name to the furthest confines of the earth?

Assistance to the Danish Mission from The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge.

The admiration of the Danish Missionaries was followed by a resolution to help them. As soon as it was found that Denmark was not able to send out all the supplies needful for the Mission, the Society, with one heart and mind, undertook, in 1709-10, to support and enlarge it. Such an enterprise might, at first sight, have been considered as one which ought more properly to have been undertaken by The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts. But the attention of that Society was then directed chiefly to our North American and West Indian Colonies, a field of duty already more than large enough for the labourers who could be sent into it. Tenison, therefore, judged it the wiser course not to distract its attention, or weaken its resources, by summoning it to fresh duties in another hemisphere. And, since the relations which had already sprung up between the present Society and the leading Protestants of Europe were of the most intimate and friendly character, it seemed but a natural and legitimate mode of strengthening those relations, to pursue the path which was now begun to be traversed by the choicest disciples of its foreign Corresponding members[2]. Accordingly, proposals were forthwith issued

[2] The charge of the East Indian Missions, thus delegated to The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, continued in its hands

by the present Society for facilitating the translation of the Scriptures into the languages of the East, and for establishing schools for the education of the native children. A separate Committee was formed to carry the design into effect, and to extend them from Tranquebar to Madras, Cuddalore, Trichinopoly, Tanjore, and even northward to Calcutta. A letter, breathing the most faithful and loving spirit, was dispatched from Newman, Secretary of the Committee, to Ziegenbalg, informing him of these plans; declaring him and his fellow-labourers members of the Society; inviting them to the unreserved interchange of friendly offices; avowing freely the bonds of union which held all believers together as members of one mystical body of which Christ is the Head; and expressing the earnest sympathy which the Church of England cherished towards the agents of the Danish Mission. At its conclusion, intimation was given that the Society had, for the better attainment of its objects, established a correspondence with Mr. Lewis, Chaplain at Madras; Mr. Anderson, Chaplain in Bengal; and Mr. Watson, Chaplain in Bombay. Soon after the receipt of this letter,—which was followed by many others of a like spirit, still extant in the histories of the Danish Missions,—a printing-press and types were sent out by the Society from England, under the charge of a skilful German printer, who had been for a long time established in London, of the name of Fink. The vessel in which these were embarked was surprised and captured by the French, while she lay in the harbour of Rio Janeiro, and plundered of all her cargo

until 1824, when the chief burden of it was transferred to The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, with whose members it still rests.

with the exception of the printing materials, which had been stowed away in the hold, and thus escaped the search of the enemy. The English Governor of Madras, who was a passenger on board the vessel, succeeded in repurchasing her; and she proceeded on her voyage. But, before she reached the Cape of Good Hope, Fink died of fever; an event, which would have defeated, or greatly retarded, the whole plan, had it not been for the arrival of three more printers, who came out a few months afterwards. The work of translating portions of the Scriptures, the Book of Common Prayer, and other books, into the Tamŭl, Hindustani, and Portuguese languages, was then fairly set on foot; and, from this time forward, the brethren of Tranquebar and their successors were the chief instruments employed by our Society in this most important branch of Missionary enterprise.

Plutscho's visit to England, 1712.

Plutscho, indeed, was compelled, through infirm health, to withdraw, at the end of five years, from these and kindred labours. And the Missionaries availed themselves of his return homeward to entrust to him the duty of obtaining for them from the Danish King a removal of those obstacles which still hindered their progress. Plutscho afterwards repaired to England, that he might see, face to face, the members of the English Church, who were rendering such valuable aid to the Tranquebar Mission. And, having attended a meeting of our Society, Nov. 13, 1712, received the best proofs of its good will in a present offering of money, and, what was more valuable, the sincere assurances of its determination to uphold the good work[3].

[3] La Croze states in his Histoire du Christianisme des Indes,

Ziegenbalg's visit to England, 1715.

Ziegenbalg, not long afterwards, followed, for a brief season, the steps of Plutscho homeward; having first left the affairs of the Mission under the charge of Grundler. He reached Copenhagen in 1715, where he remained long enough to complete for the press his Dictionary of the Malabar language, and then proceeded to Halle, to take fresh counsel with his friend, Professor Francke, under whose care the Dictionary was published in the following year. During Ziegenbalg's visit at Halle, he married a lady to whom he had been long attached, and returned to England, with the cheering expectation that many true-hearted members of her Church were there ready to welcome him. He was not disappointed. Our Society received him at a General Meeting of its members, Dec. 29, 1715, with gratitude and reverence; and expressed to him, in a Latin Address, their deep sense of the fidelity and zeal with which he had done, and was seeking again to do, the work of an evangelist in the East. He answered their address, as it is described in the Minutes, in 'a Malabaric speech, the interpretation of which, in Latin, was afterwards read by the Secretary,' declaring, with affectionate and simple eloquence, his joy in meeting them, and praying that the grace of God might strengthen their hands and his. He was afterwards presented to George I., who had lately succeeded to the English throne, and received from him the strongest assurances of sympathy and support. These assurances were renewed, unto him and Grundler, two years afterwards, in a letter which that

p. 556, that Plutscho was alive at the date of its publication, 1723-4.

Monarch addressed to them under his sign manual[4]. Tenison, who had been Primate for twenty-one years, died in the very month in which Ziegenbalg had his interview with the Society; and, before his successor, Archbishop Wake, could do more than express, with the Bishop of London, in general terms, his desire to promote the work, Ziegenbalg had set sail once more for Madras[5]. The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts requested the East India Company to grant Ziegenbalg a free passage; a request readily complied with in that instance, and, I believe, in every other which occurred in later years.

Stevenson, Chaplain, at Madras.

Upon arriving at Madras, where he was received with liveliest demonstrations of joy by the natives who crowded to receive him, Ziegenbalg obtained the most valuable aid from William Stevenson, Chaplain at that Presidency. The name of this excellent Clergyman is probably known to few, if any, of my readers, who are ready to fall in with the prevalent belief that nothing was done, or even attempted, by the Church of England in India, during the present time. It is an act, therefore, of simple justice to say, that, whilst the memorials of the zeal and faithfulness of Stevenson have been suffered to perish from among ourselves, they have been carefully and gratefully treasured up by the historians of the Danish Missions. And from them we learn that he not only gave the most con-

[4] A copy of it is given in Buchanan's Christian Researches in Asia, p. 60. The Latin original of that and other letters, here referred to, are given in Niecamp's History.

[5] A print of Ziegenbalg, with the dates of some of the chief events of his life printed at the bottom of it, still hangs up in the Board-room of The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge.

stant and liberal support, from his own resources, to the native schools at Tranquebar, but established schools at Madras, for the children of natives and of English residents. He stirred up the hearts of many, both there and in England, to assist in the same work. He seems never to have known what it was to be weary or faint-hearted. Whilst Ziegenbalg was absent, it was his courage that emboldened, his love that soothed, the brethren who remained behind; and, when Ziegenbalg returned, his arms were the first to embrace him, his house the first to shelter him. His frequent visits to the schools established at Tranquebar, Cuddalore, and Fort St. David; the zeal, with which he applied the results of the information thus acquired to the benefit of his own schools at Madras; the confidence, which he excited in the breasts of the Danish Missionaries towards him, by the warmth of his brotherly-kindness and the wisdom of his counsels; the respect and support, which he received from all classes of his countrymen in India, and the minute and constant correspondence, which he carried on with the agents of our Society at home, —portions of which may still be traced in the Reports of that date,—all combine to prove that it is no overstrained eulogium which the annalists of the Danish Missions pronounced on Stevenson, when they declared him to be a man 'truly unwearied in spreading Christianity among the nations[6].' Two of the Governors of Madras, about the same period, Harrison and Collet, were men of kindred spirit with himself,

Testimony to his zeal and constancy.

[6] *In Christianisimo inter gentes propagando planè indefessus.* Grischovius's edition of Niecamp's History, p. 199.

and worthy successors of the former Governor, Streynsham Master, under whom, the reader has already been informed, the first English Church was erected at Madras[7]. Of Collet especially, who came out just before Stevenson's return, he speaks in most grateful terms, in a letter addressed to Newman, August 25, 1716. Stevenson states therein, that he expected soon to be forced to return to England, and had written to the Court of Directors to say that he should do so, as soon as they had sent out his successor, of whom he expresses his earnest hope that he might give his heart to the Mission. Stevenson returned to England in the following year; but not until he had sent home other letters, which it is impossible here to quote, but which amply demonstrate the ardour and success with which he discharged his duties to the last.

Archbishop Wake.

Among the many assurances of help which the Danish Mission continued to receive from the Church of England, none was given more heartily than that which came to them from its Primate. In common with all members of the Society over which he presided, Wake had long watched with admiration and interest the labours of Ziegenbalg and Grundler. The largeness of heart which prompted him afterwards to renew, in the case of the Gallican and English Churches, efforts towards a closer union, of a kindred character with those which Sharp had already made in respect to the chief Protestant congregations of Europe, could not but lead him to wish God speed to these intrepid Missionaries of the East. And the following extract of a letter written

[7] Vol. ii. p. 277, and *note*.

from Lambeth, January 7, $17\frac{18}{19}$, will show how strong was his sympathy with them.

TO BARTHOLOMEW ZIEGENBALG AND JOHN ERNEST GRUNDLER, PREACHERS OF THE CHRISTIAN FAITH ON THE COAST OF COROMANDEL.

His letter to Ziegenbalg and Grundler.

As often as I behold your letters, Reverend Brethren, addressed to the Venerable Society instituted for the promotion of the Gospel whose chief honour and ornament ye are, and as often as I contemplate the light of the Gospel, either now first rising on the Indian nations, or after the intermission of some ages revived, and, as it were, restored to its original inheritance, I am constrained to magnify that singular goodness of God in visiting nations so remote, and to account you, my Brethren, highly honoured, whose ministry it hath pleased Him to employ in this pious work, to the glory of His name, and the salvation of so many millions of souls.

Let others indulge in a ministry, if not idle, certainly less laborious, among Christians at home. Let them enjoy, in the bosom of the Church, titles and honours obtained without labour and without danger. Your praise it will be (a praise of endless duration on earth, and followed by a just recompense in heaven) to have laboured in the vineyard which you yourselves have planted; to have declared the name of Christ, where it was not known before; and through much peril and difficulty to have converted to the faith those among whom ye afterwards fulfilled your ministry. Your province, therefore, Brethren, your office, I place before all dignities in the Church. Let others be pontiffs, patriarchs, or popes; let them glitter in purple, in scarlet, or in gold, let them seek the admiration of the wondering multitude, and receive obeisance on the bended knee. Ye have acquired a better name than they, and a more sacred fame. And when that day shall arrive, when the Chief Shepherd shall give to every man according to his work, a greater reward shall be adjudged to you. Admitted into the glorious society of the Prophets, Evangelists, and Apostles, ye, with them, shall shine, like the sun among the lesser stars, in the kingdom of your Father, for ever.

Their death.

The prayer for length of days to which the Archbishop gives expression in the

sequel of his letter, was not granted to Ziegenbalg and Grundler. The first finished his course at the early age of thirty-six, a few weeks after the date of the above letter; and his companion, who received his last breath, followed him to the grave in little more than a year afterwards. They both lie buried, one on each side of the communion-table, in the church at Tranquebar, which their hands had helped to erect. Claudius Buchanan, who visited it in August, 1806, and there heard, for the first time, from the pulpit in which Ziegenbalg had stood, the Gospel preached to a congregation of Hindu Christians in their own tongue, reports that over the graves of him and of his fellow-missionary were then still to be seen plates of brass on which were engraven their epitaphs in Latin. He states also, that, upon visiting the house which had been the residence of Ziegenbalg, and examining the registers of the Church, which were still kept in the lower apartment of it, he found the name of the first heathen whom Ziegenbalg had baptised, recorded in his own handwriting, in the year 1707 [8].

The arrival of Schulze.

But, although it was the will of the great Head of the Church to remove thus early from the scene of their arduous trials these his servants, He soon sent other labourers therein to protect and cultivate the seed which they had sown. Schulze, the most distinguished of their immediate successors, reached Tranquebar, accompanied by Dahl and Kistenmacher, a few months before Grundler breathed his last; and sustained, with undiminished faith and vigour, the work now bequeathed to him. The constant superintendence of the

The duties

[8] Buchanan's Christian Researches, p. 65.

of the Mission.

Schools already established, and the institution of more,—the daily catechising of candidates for Holy Baptism,—the leading onward their baptised converts to further knowledge of the Divine Law,—the conferences, held in places of public resort or in their own houses, with the natives who still clung to their idolatry,—the visits paid to the adjacent towns and villages, and the attendance given at the various Hindu festivals, that the Missionaries might learn to conquer the subtle foe whom they had undertaken to combat,—the conduct of the public devotions of their own people in their House of Prayer,—the ceaseless study of the native languages which all these occupations demanded,—and, lastly, the management of the printing department, with its complex apparatus for the engraving and casting of types, and the distribution of the books provided from that source and from their friends in England,—these had been the duties begun, and successfully carried on, by the founders of the Tranquebar Mission; and, from the continued prosecution of these Schulze and his fellow-labourers did not shrink. He even enlarged their field of operation, by embracing a greater number of the native villages within the circuit of his visitation; and so well and ably did he maintain that and every other portion of his arduous work, that, within six years from the death of Ziegenbalg, 150 converts were added to the Church at Tranquebar, and the translation of the whole Scriptures into the Tamŭl language, which Ziegenbalg had begun, and to a great extent carried on, was completed. Schulze and his companions were, like their predecessors, mainly indebted to England for encouragement and support. Our Society had greeted them on their way

out; and, having bestowed the same marks of generous favour upon them which had cheered the hearts of Plutscho and of Ziegenbalg, had secured for them a free passage in one of the ships belonging to the East India Company. And, when tidings came back to England that the leaders of the Tranquebar Mission had fallen, none received them with deeper sorrow, or strove more earnestly to strengthen the hands of the survivors, than did the President and members of our Society. Indeed, there are few facts more remarkable connected with this part of our history than the repeated and anxious entreaties of Wake to Francke for further assistance. Thus he writes from Lambeth, June 21, 1721:

Wake's Letters to Francke.

... Our Lord, whose counsels are unsearchable, hath called away each of them [Ziegenbalg and Grundler] from the midst of their course to receive the heavenly crown. Nevertheless, we ought to pour out our thanks unto God, that, before their departure, other labourers have been sent by thy help into that harvest; who, upon the foundations laid down most skilfully by those wise architects, might build a temple unto the Lord, daily propagate the doctrine of the Gospel, and both make our own countrymen who have fixed their habitations on those coasts better men, and instruct unbelievers in the way of truth. May the Chief Shepherd and Bishop of the Church bless their labours! But do thou select from thy numerous disciples others who may bring help to them, &c.

Again, in June, 1722, he writes:

... A second time, I entreat and exhort thee, by the mercy of God and the bowels of our Lord Jesus Christ, that thou wouldest quickly provide for a succession of pastors in that region, and not suffer the light of the Gospel to be there extinguished, where so many souls long since enlightened have consecrated themselves to the worship of our Saviour, and more are about to come every day to the profession of the true faith. The harvest there is about to be great. Let us not bring it to pass that, through our careless-

ness, labourers should be wanting to gather in the fruits to Christ, &c.

Once more, in a letter, dated July 22, 1723, after referring again to the loss of the first founders of the Mission, and the extraordinary difficulties in which Schulze was thereby placed, he adds,

. . . Thou art sensible of the end to which this my lamentation, which I pour into thy bosom, tends. Thou now perceivest that I am seeking from thee pious and prudent young men, fit for the execution of this office, whom we may send, by our next Indian fleet, to relieve Schulze, and associate with him in the same duty of preaching the Gospel. Yea, I seek it urgently from thee, I seek this really necessary aid. And that Venerable Society seeketh it with me, over which I unworthily preside, and which has been instituted for the purpose of propagating the faith to the extremities of the globe. They also seek this same aid, the few remaining Apostles of the Indians, who labour incessantly in this same work. The new catechumens who have been added to the Church through their help, seek it too. Last of all, our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ doth not so much seek it of thee, as ask, require, demand it by his own authority. Nor will He bear repulse in this matter. Do thou therefore lose no time in choosing and sending to England men prepared to undertake this office. It will be our part to provide that they be carried onwards to those coasts.

Three more Missionaries sent out, 1724.

These letters were publicly read by the Professor in the University of Halle, and helped to confirm the resolutions of several whose prayers and studies had for some time been directed to the same object. In the December of the year following, Bosse, Pressier, and Walther, who had been ordained to the Tranquebar Mission, arrive in this country, and are received by the Primate, the Bishop of London, and a large body of the members of the Society, with the most affectionate joy. All ranks of the Church of England vie with each other in testifying their admiration and respect. George I. ad-

mits them to an audience, and, making minute enquiry into the various duties of the Mission, dismisses them with handsome presents. Offerings of considerable amount from other quarters are also placed at their disposal; and, in a few weeks afterwards, they embark at Deal, on board the Marlborough, bearing with them a letter from Wake to Schulze, expressing the most ardent gratitude and hope. Their voyage is performed in safety; and, instantly applying themselves to their work, the Missionaries amply justify by their conduct the wisdom of the pious Professor who had chosen them for this service. Early in 1727, they hear from Europe, with deepest sorrow, the tidings of his death; but the memory of his holy benevolence, his affectionate and sagacious counsels, still animates and leads them onward.

The death of Francke.

Before the announcement of that event, Schulze had been permitted to see the number of the native Schools under his superintendence increase from 5 to 21, and 575 children gathered within them for instruction. He had, for a short period, left Tranquebar, and repaired to Madras, where he had been received with great kindness by Mr. Leek, the English Chaplain, and was accompanied by him in several of the Missionary visits which he made in its neighbourhood. Schulze re-established at the same time, with the assistance of Governor Macrae, the native School in Madras, which, since Stevenson's departure, had been suffered to fall into decay. An opening soon afterwards presented itself for the extension of its labours and those of his brethren into the city and fertile territory of Tanjore; and the success with which he conducted them in that and other quarters, speedily drew down upon him the bitter wrath and

opposition of the Romish Missionaries. But Schulze continued stedfast.

Mission established at Madras under Schulze in 1728, by The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge.

A most important addition was made to his means of usefulness in 1728, by the formation of a separate Mission which our Society established at Madras, and entrusted, with the consent of the Danish authorities, to his charge. A house in Black Town was bought for the use of the Mission, where Schools were established, and public meetings held for the instruction and superintendence of the elder converts. The same care was manifested by Schulze, which had always been exercised by his predecessors and companions, not to swell the number of nominal converts by the indiscriminate admission of all who might profess the desire for it, but to put their sincerity to the proof by strict and impartial examination. Notwithstanding this process, and the time required for its completion, he baptized in the first year one hundred and forty. His public ministrations during the week were conducted sometimes in the Portuguese, at others in the Tamŭl and Teloogoo languages; and all the time which he could spare from these and other labours was devoted to translating the Scriptures and other books into the Teloogoo and Hindustani. He received, in every department of his important duties, the strenuous support of Governor Macrae; and Pitt, the next successor of Macrae, extended to him always the same valuable aid.

Sartorius added to it in 1730.

A still greater accession of strength was secured to him by the arrival of three more Missionaries in 1730, two of whom, Reichsteig and Worm, proceeded to Tranquebar, whilst the

third, Sartorius, remained in the employment of our Society, as the assistant of Schulze in the Madras Mission. Like all their predecessors, these men had visited England in their way from Denmark, been cheered by the paternal counsels of her Primate, assisted by the generous offerings of himself and the Society over which he presided, and speeded on their voyage in the vessels of the East India Company. Sartorius proved himself a most efficient coadjutor in the arduous work; and the hopes of his future usefulness expressed by Wake, in a letter to Schulze, were amply realised. In this letter, which conveyed the welcome intelligence that our Society had, by a pecuniary grant, relieved the Mission from debt, the Archbishop makes a touching allusion to his own declining years. Yet his spirit, stronger than his bodily energies, abates nothing of its ardent longing that the light of the everlasting Gospel might be seen and felt in the dark places of the East.

The Mission further strengthened in 1732.

No effort was wanting on the part of our Society, to give effect to the wishes of its President. Geisler was added to the Madras Mission in 1732; and with him was sent out a second physician, for the benefit of that and the other stations on the Coromandel coast. The officer who had been before appointed to undertake that duty, had early fallen a victim to the diseases for which he had sought to provide a remedy. The year of their arrival in India was rendered memorable by the addition to the ranks of the Missionaries of Aaron, a native catechist, who had been baptised by Ziegenbalg, and had laboured ever since diligently and faithfully as a teacher. A district in Tanjore was set apart as his field of duty, and his labours there were successful from the outset.

Extended to Fort St. David.

Meanwhile, the exertions of the Madras Missionaries were making themselves felt in many quarters. Sartorius was directed by our Society to form a Mission in the neighbourhood of Fort St. David. In consequence, also, of his representations of the difficulties experienced by Schulze, Geisler, and himself, in the want of sufficient accommodation for their people in Black Town, permission was obtained from the Court of Directors to build a Church and two Schools, to be placed under the joint superintendence of the Governor of Madras and our Society, and instructions were sent out by the latter to commence the buildings immediately. Assistance was offered, at the same time, towards the work by several individuals in England, among whom the name of Isaac Hollis is the most conspicuous.

Church and Schools ordered to be built in Madras.

These signs of life and energy were not without their influence in awakening a kindred action in the hearts of others. Applications from Calcutta soon reached the Missionaries, expressing the strongest desire of many persons in that Presidency, that they should extend their ministrations to that quarter. The application was cheerfully received by them and by their friends in England; and, doubtless, would have been soon followed by substantial services, had it not been for the unexpected death of Worm and Reichsteig at Tranquebar. They breathed their last, within three weeks of each other, in 1734, after a ministry of five years, which had been sustained throughout in the spirit of a constant and simple faith.

Mission formed at Cuddalore.

Nor was this the only chasm made in the ranks of these intrepid soldiers of the Cross. Three years afterwards, Sartorius

followed them to the grave, having lived long enough to establish a Mission at Cuddalore, in connexion with those already under the charge of Schulze, Geisler, and himself, and in the support of which he had been such a distinguished instrument. Pressier died also at Tranquebar, after twelve years of most useful service.

Sartorius dies, 1737.

Successors to the men who had thus fallen speedily offered themselves. The first were Wiedebruck, Obuch, and Kolhoff; and these were, in a short time, followed by Kiernander, Fabricius, and Zegler, the first of whom was appointed to the office which Sartorius had filled at Madras and Cuddalore, whilst the others were stationed at Tranquebar. All of them had visited England in their outward voyage, and thence been speeded on their course with the same proofs of the Society's generous sympathy which had cheered the hearts of their brethren. The supplies of books and money which, almost in every year, were remitted to India showed the earnest desire of the Society to meet the demands made on them for increased help. In 1736, it remitted the sum of £1500 sterling; in the next year £1700; and, in 1739, the vessel in which the last-named Missionaries sailed took out a freight of books and paper and printing materials, &c., valued at £1500.

Fresh Missionaries sent out, and fresh supplies of books and money.

The assistance received also from different places in Germany, Denmark, and Sweden, was very valuable, and none more valuable than that forwarded from Halle by Gotthilf Francke, now the Professor of theology in that University, and the inheritor, with his father's name, of his father's virtues. He had long been a Correspond-

Generous assistance of Professor G. Francke.

ing member of our Society; and, in 1742 and two or three following years, when he found it apprehensive lest it should be unable to bear the whole burden of the Missions established by it at Madras and Cuddalore, had forwarded donations for their support, varying in amount from £200 to £300; and, at the same time, sent out, at his own charge, two more Missionaries, Breithaupt and Klein, to Tranquebar.

Mission House at Madras destroyed by the French, in 1746.

In 1742, an important change was made in the aspect of the Madras Mission, by the retirement of Schulze, through ill health, from the post which he had occupied so long and faithfully, and by the appointment of Fabricius as his successor. Within four years afterwards, during the war which broke out with France, it was made to pass through yet greater changes and adversities. The Fort of St. George was compelled to surrender to the overwhelming forces of a French fleet, and the house and Church belonging to the Mission in Black Town were destroyed, or rendered useless, to serve the purposes of the French commander Bourdonnais. Fabricius and the teachers and children of his native School, found a temporary refuge in the neighbouring Dutch settlement of Pulicat, where he still continued his labours, and extended them, as far as he could, to the surrounding villages; and, upon the re-establishment of peace, in 1748, they returned thence to Madras, and received, for the future use of the Mission, the Church at Vepery, with its house and gardens, which had formerly been assigned to the Roman Catholics. The taking away this property from the latter by the English authorities, who had originally committed it to their trust, was caused by the traitorous correspond-

Its re-establishment at Vepery.

ence which they had carried on with the French; and, for the same reason, the Church which the Roman Catholics had been permitted to hold at Cuddalore, was taken from them, and granted to Kiernander, for the benefit of the Mission which our Society had established in that place, a few years before, by the hands of Sartorius.

The return of Schulze to Europe, in 1742, a means of leading him to know, and commend to the office of missionary, the youthful Swartz.

Thus the work of those Missions, in which The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge was chiefly interested, went on in spite of external difficulties, and of the serious loss which had been incurred by the return of Schulze to Europe. It is a cause of thankfulness, indeed, to feel that Schulze should have been permitted to remain for so many years at his post in India. And still greater cause of thankfulness is it to learn, that, when sickness forced him to relinquish it and return to Europe, it was but to discover and bring into immediate use, one of the most effective instruments of Missionary enterprise known to the world in modern times. No sooner had he settled once more at Halle, the seat of his youthful studies, and resumed the learned labour of publishing the various translations which he and others had prepared in India, than he discovered, and invited to join with him in the same pursuits, a youth, whose piety, ability, diligence, and singular simplicity of character, attracted and won his best affections. This youth was CHRISTIAN FREDERICK SWARTZ, who, towards the close of the year 1749, reached England to receive, as all his predecessors had done, the counsels, and prayers, and blessings of her National Church, before he proceeded on his way to

those future scenes of conflict, and of triumph, with which his name will be for ever identified [9].

Reserving to a future chapter the examination of the progress of the work which had been begun and carried on thus far upon the Coromandel coast, I will here only add that its results, at the period of which I am now writing, were to be seen in the 7000 Christian converts who formed the congregations at Tranquebar, and the adjoining districts, and in the 1000 Christian converts who were numbered by our Society in its Missions at Madras and Cuddalore.

[9] I would not distract the reader's attention by continued references in the course of the above narrative; and will therefore state, in this place, that my authorities have been the MS. Journals and printed Reports of The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge; Fabricii *Lux Evangelii*, 603; Niecamp's History (in Latin) of the Danish Missions, *passim*,—a most valuable work, dedicated to The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge; and La Croze's Histoire du Christianisme des Indes. I have also referred to the fourth chapter of Le Bas's Life of Bishop Middleton, and the introductory chapter of Pearson's Life of Swartz.

CHAPTER XXII.

THE EARLY YEARS OF THE SOCIETY FOR THE PROPAGATION OF THE GOSPEL IN FOREIGN PARTS; ITS HOME PROCEEDINGS, AND ORGANIZATION OF FOREIGN MISSIONS.

A.D. 1701—1715.

The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts.

We have seen the circumstances which led The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, in the third year of its existence, to delegate to a separate body the duties which, at the instance of Dr. Bray, it had originally taken upon itself with respect to our Plantations in North America and the West Indies. We have seen also, that, through the exertions chiefly of Archbishop Tenison and Dr. Bray, a Charter of Incorporation was obtained for the new Society, to be called thenceforward The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts; and that the first meeting of its members was held at Lambeth Palace, June 27, 1701[1]. The following were then present:

The Archbishop of Canterbury, President.
The Bishop of London (Compton). The Bishop of Chichester (Williams).
The Bishop of Bangor (Evans).

[1] Vol. ii. 574, 575.

The Bishop of Gloucester, (Fowler).	Dr. Stanhope.
Sir John Philipps.	Dr. Evans.
Sir William Hustler.	Dr. Bray.
Sir George Wheler.	Dr. Woodward.
Sir Richard Blackmore.	Dr. Butler.
Mr. Jervoyse.	Mr. Shute.
Serjeant Hook.	Dr. Slare.
The Dean of Paul's (Sherlock).	Dr. Harvey.
Dr. Stanley, Archdeacon of London.	Mr. Melmoth.
	Mr. Chamberlayne.
	Mr. Brewster.
Dr. Kennett, Archdeacon of Huntingdon.	Mr. Nichols.
	Mr. Bromfield.
Dr. Mapletoft.	Mr. Bulstrode.
Dr. Hody.	Mr. Trymmer.

Members present at its first meeting.

A glance at the above list will prove the truth of the remark already made, that, although the machinery of the two Societies was separate, the same Ministers and Lay-members of the Church directed each. Nearly all the names here recited have already occurred in our review of the proceedings of the elder Society; and the rest are the names of men also enrolled among its members, although the occasion has not hitherto arisen for any specific mention of them. I may here point to the most conspicuous of these; to Sherlock, who well sustained the duties of his distinguished rank among the Clergy of that day, as Master of the Temple and Dean of St. Paul's, and was soon to be succeeded, in the former of these offices, by a son whose fame proved greater than his own, and who was afterwards translated from other Sees to that of London; to Hody, Chaplain to the successive Archbishops Tillotson and Tenison, and Regius Professor of Greek at Oxford, whose successful industry as a scholar and divine has been amply demonstrated in his treatises on the Septuagint and

Vulgate; to Mapletoft, once a physician of eminence, and afterwards not less valued and beloved for the faithful assiduity with which he discharged the duties of a Parish priest; and to Stanhope, the well-known author of the Paraphrase and Comment upon the Epistles and Gospels, whose name, at a later period, when he was Dean of Canterbury, is connected with one of the most interesting incidents which we shall have to relate in the history of the North American Churches.

The twofold object of its Charter.

The first business done at this meeting was to lay before it the Charter, by which the Society was constituted 'a body politick and corporate.' A reference to the copy of it, in the Appendix to this Volume, will show that its object was twofold; first, the providing of 'learned and orthodox ministers' for 'the administration of God's Word and Sacraments,' among the King's 'loving subjects,' in the 'Plantations, Colonies, and Factories beyond the seas belonging to' the 'Kingdom of England;' and, secondly, the making 'such other provision as may be necessary for the Propagation of the Gospel in those Parts;' that is, for its extension and continual increase among the heathen inhabitants of the countries in, or adjoining to, which our Plantations were established. That this was the plain meaning of the obligation by which the Society formally bound itself, and was acknowledged to be so by its members, is proved by the unvarying tenor of all its public words and acts from that to the present hour. It was not the framing of any new and self-imposed covenant, but the recognition and avowal of an eternal commandment; the authority upon which it rested being, in fact, none other than

that which gave existence to the Church Universal,—even the commandment of our Lord to His Apostles, that they should make all nations His disciples, "baptising them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost;" and the promise which accompanied it, that He would be with them "alway, even unto the end of the world" (Matt. xxviii. 19, 20). To enable the Church of England to discharge more vigorously than heretofore the duties of this high Mission, the Charter constitutes the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, the Bishops of London and Ely, the Lord Almoner, the Deans of Westminster and St. Paul's, the Archdeacon of London, the Regius and Margaret Professors of Divinity at Oxford and Cambridge for the time being, members of the Society. Others, also, whose names are enumerated in the Charter, are declared members, and their successors, who were 'to be elected in manner as hereafter directed.' Power is further given to them and their successors, by the name of the Society into which they were now incorporated, to hold and manage certain properties therein described, 'for the better support and maintenance of an orthodox Clergy in Foreign Parts, and other the uses aforesaid;' and also, by the same name, to 'plead and be impleaded, answer and be answered unto, defend and be defended,' in all courts and places whatsoever; to have a common Seal; to make certain regulations touching the appointment of officers, and the time and place of meeting; and 'to depute such persons as they shall think fit to take subscriptions.' Lastly, it is provided, that every year a written account shall be returned to the Lord Chancellor, or Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, or to the

Chief Justice of the King's Bench or Common Pleas, or to any two of them, of the sums of money which may have been received and laid out.

Its earliest proceedings.

The Society next proceeded to appoint its officers, among whom was Melmoth, one of the Treasurers, and John Chamberlayne, Secretary. A Committee was appointed to prepare a suitable device for the Society's Seal. Five hundred copies of the Charter were ordered to be printed; and a Committee was formed 'to consider of By-Laws, and Standing Orders for the use of the Society.'

The second meeting was held, July 8, at the Cockpit, which stood on the site of the present Privy Council Office at Whitehall. The device of the Society's Seal was then agreed upon; namely,

> A ship under sail, making towards a point of land; upon the prow standing a minister with an open Bible in his hand; people standing on the shore in a posture of expectation, and using these words, *Transiens adjuva nos*[2].

The By-Laws, brought up by the Committee appointed for that purpose, were also adopted at this meeting; ordering, among other matters, that the business of the Society should always be opened with prayer; that a Sermon should be preached before its members every year by a Preacher appointed by the President; and that an oath should be tendered to all its officers, before they were admitted into their respective offices, binding them to the faithful discharge of their duties.

Places and times of meeting.

The meetings of the Society, held always from this time forward, took place sometimes at the Cockpit; at other times, at

[2] See the First Report in Appendix to this Volume.

Lambeth Palace, or the Vestry of Bow Church; but, most frequently, at Archbishop Tenison's Library, in St. Martin's in the Fields. The day of meeting was, at first, every Friday; and, afterwards, as it still is, and is enjoined to be, by the express terms of the Charter, on the third Friday in every month. The hour was usually fixed for the afternoon; but sometimes as early as eight or nine in the morning. A record was kept of all proceedings, and is still preserved, together with a mass of domestic and foreign correspondence. The chief points of interest in the latter will be more conveniently referred to, when we review the condition of the Colonies to which it relates. The former shall be briefly noticed in the present place, as it throws light upon the efforts made in different ways at home in behalf of the Society's objects.

Subscription rolls.

At one of its earliest meetings, the Secretary had been instructed to prepare parchment rolls for the use of such members as should be deputed to receive subscriptions and other benefactions. Some of them were taken charge of by Bishop Patrick of Ely, Archdeacon Stanley, and others, who appear to have been the most constant in their attendance. And, at every subsequent meeting, fresh accessions to the ranks of the Society were reported through these channels.

Bishop Patrick.

Bishop Patrick, indeed, manifested from the first, in this and various other ways, the strongest desire to speed on the work of the Society; and for this cause, probably, it is that all Bishops of Ely are constituted its members by Charter; a privilege, enjoyed by no other prelates, save the two Archbishops and the Bishop of London. Some, indeed,

may have thought that it was given in consideration of the Royal franchise then attached to the See of Ely, which has since been taken away by 6 & 7 Will. IV. c. 87. But, had this been the reason, would it not have applied with equal or greater force to the Bishop of Durham, in whom all the privileges of the Palatinate jurisdiction were at that time vested? It seems, therefore, more reasonable to conclude that the annexation of such a privilege to the See of Ely was the result of the zeal and energy of the distinguished man who then presided over it. Long prior to the establishment of this Society, and amid all the avocations of his duties, in the first instance, as a Parish priest, and afterwards as Bishop,—duties, which Patrick discharged with unwearied diligence, and the burden of which, through the greatest part of his life, was made still heavier by the preparation ever accompanying them of his elaborate and valuable Commentaries and other writings,—he had nevertheless, found time to turn many an anxious and kind thought towards our North American Colonies, and had done what in him lay to help them. An express acknowledgment of these services, in the case of Maryland, we find made by its then Governor, Nicholson[3]; and similar evidence is supplied in the correspondence of Dr. Bray.

Deputations.

It was soon judged advisable to open a freer course for the streams of help which flowed in through many channels upon the Society. And, on the 15th of May, 1702, application was made to the Committee which usually met at St. Paul's Chapter-House, 'to prepare a Form of Deputation, under the seal of the Society, for persons to receive

[3] Life of Bishop Patrick, p. 227.

subscriptions,' in aid of its objects throughout the different Dioceses of the kingdom. This seems chiefly to have arisen at the instigation of Sir Edmund Turner, a gentleman of property in Lincolnshire, who was present at the Meeting, and showed a letter from Mr. Adamson, Minister of Burton Coggle in the same county, requesting that a copy of the Society's Form of Annual Subscriptions might be sent down into that neighbourhood, with the view of forwarding its designs. On the 26th of the following month, the Form of Deputation was agreed to; and measures were forthwith set on foot to give effect to the plan, as appears from the following Minutes:

July 3, 1702. The Lord Bishop of London recommended Mr. Burkitt, minister of Dedham, in Essex, for one of the persons to be deputed to take subscriptions within his lordship's Diocess.

Again,

August 21, 1703. A letter read from Sir Edmund Turner, signifying that he had remitted the sum of £107 4*s.* 6*d.* to the Treasurer, being rais'd by Mr. Adamson, the minister of Burton Coggle, and several other gentlemen in Lincolnshire, and desiring that Mr. Adamson might be deputed by the Society, under their seal, to receive such benefactions as shal from time to time be contributed towards the designs of the Society.

Resolv'd, That the said Mr. Adamson be a deputy of this Society for the purposes above mencõned.

Also, on the same day,

A letter read from the Lord Bishop of Ely, recommending several persons for deputies for the Diocess of Ely.

Correspondence thereon.

Upon examining the correspondence connected with these and similar resolutions about the same date, I find passages which may interest some readers, on account of the persons

by whom they are written, and the matters mentioned therein. Thus, the letter of Bishop Patrick to the Secretary, mentioned in the above Minute, is to this effect:

Ely, July 14, 1702.

Sir,—I was gone to Cambridge for 2 or 3 days when your letter came hither, otherwise you had received an answer to it sooner. Mine is a very small Diocess, in which there are but 3 considerable towns where they dwell that are most likely to promote the pious design you mention. In Cambridge, the Vice-Chancellor, Dr. Richardson, Master of St. Peter's Colledge, is, I am sure, well dispos'd to such a work; and so, I believe, are Dr. Roderick, the Provost of King's, Dr. Bentley, Master of Trinity, Dr. Covil, Master of Christ's, and the King's Professor of Divinity, Dr. James, Master of Queen's, who is now going up to wait as Chaplain at Court. Here, at Ely, there is no gentleman in the town but Sir Roger Jennings, who, I hope, will not be backward to so good a work. At Wisbich, Mr. John Bellamy, one of her Majesty's justices of peace, and Mr. Josiah Cohil, another of them (who lives but 2 miles off from thence, at Newton), are good men, and therefore likely to promote it.

I am, Sir,
Your faithful Servant,
Sy. Eliensis.

For Mr. John Chamberlayne, at his house in Petty France, Westminster.

Bishop Burnet, of Salisbury, writes as follows, 13 July, 1702:

If by the subscriptions propos'd you mean it of the Clergy, none are so fit for managing it as the psons to whom it naturally belongs, the three Archdeacons, Mr. Hussey, Archdeacon of Sarum, Mr. Yeate of Wilts, and Mr. Proast of Berks. Among the laity, Sir William Trumbal is the fittest for Berks, and L. Weymouth, or any employ'd by him in Wilts. But, til you have made an attempt on the city, and that it appears how it succeeds, it will be to little purpose to try the country; for, in a time of taxes, people are apt to seek excuses, and this lyes so fair that I am afraid it will be laid hold on. At the bottom of the page you will see a note for

my midsum̃er payment. I pray God direct and prosper you in all things.

The poverty of the rural districts, and the impropriety of appealing to them for aid, until it had been first sought for and obtained in the cities and towns of England, are pleas which I find strongly insisted upon again by Bishop Burnet in a letter to the Secretary, dated April 3, 1703.

Bishop Strafford, of Chester, refers, in like manner, to the difficulties of his Diocese at this time; but expresses his earnest desire to help the work:

Tho' I shall heartily contribute my best endeavours toward the charitable and pious design of Promoting the Gospel in Foreign Parts, yet I fear this is not a proper season to get subscriptions to that purpose in my Diocess; because we are now repairing our ruinous cathedral, and the contributions towards that will, in this Diocess, be a great obstruction to the subscriptions desir'd by the Society. My humble advice, therefore, is that these Deputations be deferr'd to another year, because I think they will then turn to a much better account.

He then gives the name of thirteen Clergymen, throughout the different Deaneries of his Diocese, as fit and willing to undertake the office, but repeats his wish that nothing might be done in the affair, until he should come up to Parliament, and have an opportunity of consulting the Society.

A letter of Bishop Williams, of Chichester, is chiefly remarkable for the contrast which it exhibits, between the impediments of communication existing a hundred and fifty years ago in that Diocese, and the facilities of rapid transit with which it abounds in the present day:

This Diocess is of a great length, and we have no comunication with the far part east but by London, so that before I can answer yours, I shall inform myself of my brethren at the election (which

now draws on) who will be willing to undertake this office of Deputation.

Assistance from the Bishops.

From Bishops Kidder, of Bath and Wells; Fowler, of Gloucester; Trelawney, of Exeter; Talbot, of Oxford; Cumberland, of Peterborough; Hall, of Bristol; and Hough, of Lichfield, letters were also received, expressing their readiness to promote the work, and suggesting means for its accomplishment in their respective Dioceses. And in Ireland, the Archbishops of Armagh (Marsh), and Dublin (King), whilst they acknowledged the great poverty and distress existing in that country, welcomed right heartily the tidings that such a design had been set on foot, and bound themselves to its support. The liberality of the former of these prelates had been signally manifested a short time before, while Archbishop of Dublin, by purchasing, from his private purse, the valuable Library of Bishop Stillingfleet, (which Bentley and Evelyn had in vain sought to secure for England,) and devoting the same to the foundation of a public Library in Dublin[4]. His liberality in the present work was proved not less conspicuously by a donation of £300, presented by him to the Society in 1707, and another of the like amount in 1711[5].

And the University of Oxford.

From the University of Oxford the Society received most encouraging assurances, as appears from the following letter of Mr. Stubs[6], dated Wadham College, April 14, 1703:

[4] Bp. Monk's Life of Bentley, i. 135, 136.

[5] See Office List of Donations above 100*l.* in the Reports of the Society.

[6] Vol. ii. 555.

According to your desire, I have waited on Dr. Edwards, Principal of Jesus, and Dr. Sharlott, Master of University, about the affair of their Deputations. This afternoon I shall be with Dr. Traffles, Warden of New College, on the same errand. The two former acknowledge the receipt of them, are thankful for the honour the Corporation has done them, and will promote the glorious designs of it to the best of their power. As an earnest of his good wishes and endeavours, the Principal of Jesus has lodged with me 10£ for y^e^ use of the much honor'd Society, which you'l please to comunicate. I have no comission of a like nature at present from the others mencioned, but from the disposition I find in most of y^e^ Heads for the advancing God's glory in the foreign parts, I dare promise, from an encrease of deputations here, such a plentiful harvest of benefactions (and missionaries, for ought I know), as may justly be expected from the piety and learning of this place. The business of your next General Meeting is of that encouraging nature to them, that their most earnest wishes are engaged for the success of a suffragan in America; tho' I fear y^e^ expedient humbly offered by the last comittee I assisted in cannot take place, Dr. Scott acquainting me here that there are but six Scotch Bishops remaining, and they aged men. When you signify to Dr. Edwards the sense of the Corporation on his benefaction, 'twill be an obligation if you'l let him know next Friday's proceedings in that affair.

Desire manifested therein for a Suffragan Bishop in North America.

It is important to observe the fact established by the above letter, that the attention of the Society was not only directed to the duty of appointing a Suffragan Bishop in America, and that it was made the subject of correspondence and discussion as early as the second year of its existence, but also that the Bishops of the Church in Scotland were regarded as the channel through which that assistance could be most readily obtained. This, indeed, was ultimately proved to be so by the event; but, as we have seen[7],

[7] Vol. ii. 534.

not until after the lapse of eighty-one years from the date of this letter.

The Fellowships of Sir Leoline Jenkins.

I cannot refer to the visit of the writer of the above letter to Oxford, and the interest excited in his mission among the authorities of the University, without noticing a remarkable letter written to him, in the following month, by the Principal of Jesus College. It relates to the nomination, as Missionary, of one of the Fellows on the foundation of Sir Leoline Jenkins; and urges the necessity of placing him, as the founder's Will required, under the direction of the Bishop of London. The letter runs thus:

This comes to acknowledge the favour of both yours, and in pursuance of the latter, I have here sent you inclosed the qualifications, endorsed with a testimonial under the college seal, and attested by myself, and subscribed by the fellows. My Lord of London must be made acquainted with all the particulars relating to Mr. Nichols; for by the rules of his foundation he is absolutely placed under his authority, to attend his sumons, to comply with his mission, both as to the time when, and place to which he is to be sent, where he is likewise to continue under his direction and obedience, under pain of forfeiting his fellowship. So that I hope all things will be so managed, I mean as to what concerns our young man, as that my Lord of London's power may be preserved entire, and nothing done that may seem to entrench upon it. I am glad to understand that you have that prospect of success in this undertaking, and shall be ready to contribute what lyes in my power towards so pious and charitable a work. And as to that small pittance which I have paid and promised, I am glad to find it hath been kindly received, which is an acknowledgment, and all that was expected or desired by

Your very affectionate Friend and Servant,
JONATH. EDWARDS.

I thankfully avail myself of the testimony of this letter, as corroborating the statements before made respecting the designs of the pious founder, and the pro-

priety of the course now observed by Jesus College in support of them [8].

Progress of deputations.

Of the efforts made in various quarters of the kingdom by the Deputations of the Society, it is obviously impossible to give a detailed account in this place. Burkitt, who was at that time engaged in completing his well-known Commentary on the New Testament, holds a distinguished place among them. It appears from one of his letters, dated Dedham, Nov. 3, 1702, that he and his friends had raised a sum of money, a few months before, towards the support of a Missionary for Carolina, Mr. Thomas, whom the Bishop of London had ordained and sent out to that Colony, and of whom more will be said hereafter. He states that it was the particular knowledge possessed by his friends and himself, of Mr. Thomas's pious zeal and fitness for the service, which had induced him to urge his appointment; and he insists all the more upon these qualities, as the life and soul of the 'noble undertaking' in which they were engaged, because of the objection which he said was brought against the Society, that persons were sent as Missionaries abroad, who, for their extravagance and immoralities, could live no longer at home. This objection, whatsoever force it might have had, in respect of some of the Missionaries who had found their way to the Colonies from other quarters, certainly could not apply to any who were now sent out by this Society; for the Charter by which its proceedings were conducted was scarcely yet a year old; and its Minutes clearly prove that during that short period the same vigilant and impartial care had been exer-

The Rev. W. Burkitt.

[8] Vol. ii. 363.

cised in every case, which Burkitt himself admits was manifested in that of the Carolina Missionary. Another objection then touched upon by Burkitt was the lack of information as to the extent to which the designs of the Society had been advanced, and the manner in which its benefactions had been expended. But to this an ample and sufficient answer was at hand in the first Report, which the Society was at that moment preparing for publication. In the confident hope that a satisfactory answer would be received, Burkitt thus renews his promises of help:

Altho' charity is very cold in y^e^ country, and poverty invades all places, yet I will use my utmost endeavours to promote this good work, w^h^ I must say is very much upon my heart, and has been and shall be upon my hand also.

He writes again, a few months afterwards:

You may please to give my humble service to the Society, and let them know that having rec^d^ their Deputation to take subscriptions, I am labouring to serve them and promote the pious design all I can. I dined with Mr. Western yesterday, and hope he will subscribe towards an annual allowance. My heart is very much in the work, and I shall promote it all I can, and I bless God I had so great an hand in Mr. Thomas's mission. Where to find such an other, I know not, but when I can, you shall be sure to hear from me.

In Lincolnshire, the friends of the Society appear at this time to have been more zealous than in any other county in England; and, for many years, the correspondence of Sir Edmund Turner and Mr. Adamson with each other and with the Secretary exhibits unceasing evidence of the energy with which they prosecuted the work assigned to them, and the sympathy and help which they received from the Bishop of that Diocese, Dr. Gardner. A like spirit operated also in

Devonshire, as appears from the following letter of the Rev. Mr. King, of Exeter, Sept. 19, 1702:

I thank you for your last, wherein you inform me of your proceedings upon Deputations. I could wish that one of the forms had been sent me; for then I believe we should have been as little behind the Lincolnshire men in our contributions, as we have already been before most other counteys. I want, indeed, only an order by authority of this Hon^ble Society, to make such returns as would answer their expectations.

Contributions received.

Of the success which followed these appeals, many evidences still remain. The first year's return by Mr. Adamson, from a district in Lincolnshire, not thickly populated, and scarcely ten miles long, amounted to more than £118; and the reports from the same district in succeeding years prove that this was no transient effort. So, too, from other remote places, like testimonies were received of hearty and self-denying zeal; and, if these be compared with the returns made from the same, or like, quarters in the present day, the result will not always redound to the credit of the latter. Wales, also, was not slow in furnishing similar testimonies; and sent, through the hands of Sir John Philipps, her offering from the counties of Caermarthen and Pembroke. Other evidences of the same spirit were exhibited at the head-quarters of the Society in London. In March, 1701-2, a donation of 100 guineas was reported from the Princess of Denmark (afterwards Queen Anne), towards one of the favourite designs of Dr. Bray, the maintenance of a Superintendent over the Clergy of Maryland; another of £50 from Archdeacon (afterwards Bishop) Beveridge, for the general purposes of the Society; and a third of £1000 sent to Dr. Mapletoft 'by a person who desires to be un-

known,' and with the request that it should 'be laid out in land, or rent-charges, or otherwise, for the use of the Society and their successors for ever.' The name of this donor, after her death, which occurred soon afterwards, was ascertained to be Jane, relict of Sir John Holman, of Weston, Northamptonshire [9].

Endowments from land.

A like desire to increase the income of the Society by endowments from land was evinced in other quarters. Mr. Bond, for instance, expressed his readiness, in 1702, to fulfil his promise to Col. Colchester of conveying to the Society his right and title to an estate of 950 acres of land in Virginia. The prospect of help from this source was, upon further enquiry, lost, by reason of a defective title to the land. Serjeant Hook also wrote, Oct. 15, 1703, stating that he had purchased 3750 acres of land in West Jersey, upon Delaware River, and had resolved to give a tenth part of the same as a glebe to the Church [10].

A similar provision had been designed in the preceding century, by Barnabas Oley, Vicar of Great Gransden, in Huntingdonshire, the friend, in his early years, of Nicholas Ferrar, and editor of Thomas Jackson's celebrated work upon the Creed [11]. He thus describes his views in a clause of his Will (1684) which granted lands in trust for charitable uses:

If there be any design of planting the Christian faith in foreign lands, by our Sovereign Lord the King his authority, and the ad-

[9] Account of the Society, &c., p. 86. This work, although it does not bear his name, was written by Bishop Kennett. See his Life, p. 204.

[10] Account of the Society, &c., p. 88.

[11] See Oley's Dedication to Sheldon, and Preface to Vol. i. of Jackson's Works.

vice of the Right Reverend Bishops of this Church, according to the doctrine and discipline of this excellent Church of England, now by law and canons establisht, then this is a pious use which he would and will have his executor to contribute.

Accordingly, one of his trustees, Samuel Saywell, Rector of Bluntisham, in the same county, sent £5 to the Society, soon after its establishment, with an intimation of its continuance for ever[12].

Annual subscriptions, &c.

The annual subscriptions of the Society were of large amount; the Archbishop of Canterbury paying yearly £50; the Bishops of London, Salisbury, Hereford, and Ely, £25, or £20 each; most of the other Bishops £10; the Archdeacons of Colchester and London £20 each; the Lord Guildford £30; Sir Edmund Turner, Serjeant Hook, Robert Nelson, Evelyn, Dean Prideaux, and others, £10 each. Besides these, there were many anonymous benefactors. The munificent offering of one has already been noticed. A few months after which, the Bishop of Salisbury reported another of £20 from a lady who desired to be unknown; and like instances frequently occur in subsequent Minutes.

Other documents supply further evidence of like efforts, made in various quarters, to promote the same work. The following passage, for example, from the Biographia Britannica, is noted in the Life of Dr. Radcliffe, the celebrated physician:

> In 1704, at a general collection for propagating the Gospel in foreign parts, the Doctor, unknown to any of the Society, settled 50*l. per annum*, payable for ever to them, under a borrowed name.

Another passage to the same effect, we shall soon have occasion to quote from Evelyn's Diary. And it

[12] Account, &c., *ut sup.*, pp. 9, 10.

is probable that many more evidences of sympathy and hearty zeal were manifested in that day, the traces of which are now obliterated.

Leading Lay-members of the Society, &c. Nelson, and other Laymen, who were members of The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge.

Of the leading Lay-members of the Society, such as Nelson, Melmoth, Guildford, Hook, Turner, Philipps, Mackworth, Colchester, Harvey, Slare, and others,—who were found extending the same measure of help to the present, which they had given so heartily and promptly to the elder, Society,—I will not say more in this place, than that they were herein witnesses to a great and eternal truth, that it is impossible for the spirit of Christian love, if only earnest and sincere, to confine itself within any limited sphere of action; and that they who are most conspicuous for the zeal and energy with which they discharge their duties as members of the Church at home, have been, in former days, as they are in the present, those who feel most deeply, and strive most diligently to supply, the wants of the Church abroad. With respect to Nelson, indeed, it may be added, that he was among the earliest members of the present Society, having been elected Nov. 21, 1701, a day distinguished by the formal enrolment of the Archbishop of Canterbury and ten other Bishops among its members. As an evidence of the active part which he took in its proceedings, we find him, soon after his election, appointed a member of a Committee to examine into and report upon the charges of Dr. Bray's Missions to the Plantations; and the full and satisfactory Report, drawn up in consequence, bears his signature and that of Archdeacon Stanley. A yet more remarkable evidence of the earnest desire of Nelson to promote the work of

Notice of the Society by Nelson in

his Companion for the Festivals, &c.

the Society is the especial Collect which he drew up in its behalf in his well-known Companion for the Festivals and Fasts of the Church of England, praying that its members might be diligent and zealous in the discharge of their duties; and receive wisdom to discern, and courage and resolution to pursue, the proper means of promoting the good work assigned to them [13].

Governor Nicholson.

The day of Nelson's admission into the Society was made further memorable by the admission of Nicholson, Governor of Virginia, whose zeal and energy had already won for him the reverence and honour of the elder Society [14]. An evidence of a like feeling on the part of the present Society was proved by its adoption of the following resolution a few months afterwards:

That the thanks of this Society be given to Colonel Francis Nicholson, Governor of Virginia, for the great service he has done towards the propagation of the Christian Religion and the establishment of the Church of England in the Plantations, and particularly for his having contributed so largely towards the foundation of many churches along the continent of North America.

Evelyn.

The name of Evelyn also, ever to be held in honour by English gentlemen and English Churchmen, occupies a conspicuous rank among the Laymen of whom I now write. He had long felt a deep interest in the welfare of our Colonies; and the rapid extension of English colonisation and commerce in his day, and the obligations consequent upon it, would, under any circumstances, have

[13] See the third Collect for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge, to be used on the Feast of the Epiphany.

[14] Vol. ii. 572.

attracted the notice of his enquiring and candid mind. But his appointment to the office of a Commissioner of Trade and Plantations, early in the year 1670-1, necessarily led him to look more closely into their affairs; and his unaffected piety prompted him to embrace eagerly the opportunity of securing for them the ministrations of the Church of England. The Council of Trade, originally established by Charles II., had not lasted more than eight years; and, at the end of that period, the Board of Trade and Plantations, of which Evelyn became a Commissioner, was appointed by Parliament. He describes in his Diary, May 26, 1671, the meeting of the Commissioners in the house provided for them, belonging to the Earl of Bristol, in Queen Street, Lincoln's Inn Fields; the rich and royal hangings with which the house was furnished, its long gallery and gardens, the supply of atlases, charts, and globes for the council-chamber, the administration of the oaths of office, the members of the Privy Council who were present, the new patent and instructions under which they were to act, and the business which occupied them that same day respecting New England and Jamaica. Further notices of the proceedings of the Council, held for a time in the same house, and afterwards at Whitehall, frequently occur in the sequel of his Diary; all proving the readiness and diligence with which Evelyn discharged the duties of his office. The Minutes of the present Society show that he was elected a member on the 15th of May, 1702; and, in the list of subscriptions, reported at its next meeting on the 19th of June, two sums are affixed to his name —a guinea for the home charges of the Society, and £10 annual for its general purposes. Upon turning to his Diary, between the 3rd of May and the 22nd of

June, the following confirmation of the Minutes is given by Evelyn himself:

> Being elected a member of the Society lately incorporated for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, I subscrib'd 10*l.* *per ann.* toward the carrying it on. We agreed that every missioner, besides the 20*l.* to set him forth, sho^d^ have 50*l.* *per ann.* out of the Stock of the Corporation, till his settlement was worth to him 100*l.* *per ann.* We sent a young divine to New York.

Between two and three years after the date of this record, Evelyn, full of years and honour, and breathing to the very last the spirit of prayer and thankfulness, entered into his rest; leaving the important work, of which he had thus witnessed the beginning, to be carried on by other hands.

Sir John Chardin.

There is one more, among the Society's Lay-members, whose name I shall here mention, whose calling, indeed, was widely different from that of Evelyn, but who, in the discharge of its duties, exhibited a singleness of mind and sincerity of religious faith, not inferior to his. I mean Sir John Chardin; whose original profession as a jeweller has been forgotten in his reputation as a traveller; and whose researches as a traveller were successfully directed to the elucidation of those manners and customs of the East which are related in Holy Scripture. He received the honour of knighthood from Charles II., in whose court he found a safer place of settlement, after he returned from his travels, than he could have hoped to find, by reason of his religious profession as a Protestant, in France, the land of his birth. His wife, also, was the daughter of Protestant refugees from Rouen, who had found protection and a home in the English capital. Chardin repaid the kindnesses enjoyed in the land of his adoption by diligent and

cheerful efforts to advance her interests. The earlier annals of the Royal Society show that he was the friend and fellow-labourer of her men of science; and the zeal with which he exercised the office of Agent to the East India Company in London, bears witness to his ability to extend her commerce. His life was extended to the closing years of Queen Anne's reign; and thus opportunities were afforded to him of co-operating, for the first ten years of its existence, with the present Society, in whose Charter his name is enrolled. He was never slow to avail himself to the uttermost of such opportunities; and it is this fact which has led me here to notice his name with gratitude. The traveller and the scholar, who emulate his feats of enterprise, and read with delight and interest the relation written of them by himself, may, as they look upon the inscription affixed to his monument in Westminster Abbey, acknowledge the truth of the line which it bears, '*Nomen sibi fecit eundo*[15].' But the faithful member of the Church of England, as he calls that same fact to mind, and peruses, with not less profit and satisfaction than others have done, the history of Chardin's travels, will feel that another claim to hold his name in honour has now been supplied, in the pious reverence with which he devoted the latter years of an active and useful life to the work of propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts. He gave also to the Society, just before his death, the sum of £1000, as appears from the Office List of Donations, &c., now published in its Annual Reports.

Among the Clerical members of the So- Leading Clerical

[15] Although the monument of Sir John Chardin is in Westminster Abbey, his grave is at Chiswick, where he died, in 1713. Biographie Universelle.

members. Dr. Bray.

ciety, the foremost place must ever be assigned to Dr. Bray. I have already described his early and successful labours as a minister of the Church in his native land; the clearness and vigour with which he set forth her doctrines in his published works; the skill and perseverance with which he planned the institution of Parochial and Lending Libraries at home and abroad; the stimulus thereby given to him to organise and set in motion the more extensive schemes which led to the formation of the two great Societies whose early history is now before us; the exertions which he made repeatedly towards that end, with an alacrity which failure could never weaken; the accomplishment of his purposes at last; his preparations carried on all this time for the discharge of the duties which he had undertaken, as Commissary of the Bishop of London in Maryland; his self-denial, his zeal, his constancy, his successful progress, during his brief stay in that province; his correspondence with its Clergy, after he returned home, upon the subjects which had occupied their attention in his visitation at Annapolis; his efforts to obtain for them the appointment of a Bishop; his scheme for improving the miserable state which then characterised the slave population of our Colonies,—a scheme, still recognised and kept in operation by the 'Associates,' who, to this day, are designated by his honoured name. We have seen him also present and active in all the chief transactions which engaged the attention of the two Societies, and especially prominent in the good work of visiting the poor prisoners in the City of London, and devising measures for their relief. His conduct in these respects was only a specimen of the spirit which animated him in every hour of his daily

walk. In 1706, he was appointed to the Donative of St. Botolph-without-Aldgate, a preferment which, in conjunction with the Sub-Almonership, he had refused to accept before he went to Maryland; but upon the duties of which he was now willing to enter, when the prospect of his return to that province had ceased to exist. Among the many services which he rendered to the inhabitants of that Parish and neighbourhood, by the exemplary manner in which he discharged his obligations as its pastor, we may note especially the instructions which he gave, at stated times, in his Church to young men who had expressed to him a desire, and who appeared to him fitted, to enter upon the missionary work. It was supplying a need of which the greatness was then deeply felt, and for which there existed no other remedy. No man could have supplied it more efficiently than Bray; and the hearty readiness with which he gave it enhanced unspeakably its value. Simultaneously with these labours, he resumed others which, in the outset of his life, had acquired for him so high a reputation as an author; applying himself chiefly to the collection of materials for a complete history of the Papal usurpation. One volume of the history he published in his lifetime; and the materials for the remainder he bequeathed to Sion College. Other works appeared written at the same time by his hand; among which his '*Directorium Missionarium*,' and his '*Primordia Bibliothecaria*,' were the most important. The success with which he continued to carry on, amid all these distracting duties, his works of benevolence, gained for him a reputation second to none of those,—and they were not few,—who, in that day, thus manifested their Christian zeal. He died in 1730.

Bishop Beveridge.

Of others, who were associated with Bray in the sacred functions of the ministry, and in the application of them to promote the cause of the present Society, one has been already mentioned, as among its earliest and generous benefactors, who deserves much more than merely a transient notice—I mean, Bishop Beveridge. The diligent and successful study of Eastern literature, which distinguished his early years, was brought to the reader's attention, when I spoke of the piety and zeal of the English Chaplains in the Levant, and of Pocock, the most distinguished of them; of Castell, his learned coadjutor; and of the assistance which the latter confesses to have received from Beveridge[16]. Of the still greater success which attended his unwearied labours in later years, the whole Church is witness, in the guidance and instruction which successive generations of her children have received from his varied writings, and in the reverence and eagerness with which they are still read. Beveridge was one of the few who passed unscathed amid the fires of political trial that burnt so fiercely in his day. Kindly and affectionate in regarding the consciences of others, he was resolute to maintain the dictates of his own. He would not have refused to receive consecration as a Bishop of the Church of England, after the Revolution, had the vacancy of a See been, in his judgment, actually made. But, when the Diocese which it was proposed that he should superintend, was that which the heavenly-minded Ken had governed; from which Ken believed that he was not, and could not be, lawfully thrust out; and within the borders of which Ken still continued to

[16] Vol. ii. 128.

live;—into such a Diocese, and under such circumstances, come what might, Beveridge refused to enter, as its Bishop. He still continued, therefore, for more than twelve years afterwards, not in the highest order of the English Clergy, although confessedly among the most eminent of their body, and occupying posts of distinction and importance. He was elevated to that order, indeed, not long after he had become enrolled among the benefactors of the present Society; and, within two years more (1706-7), he preached, as Bishop of St. Asaph, its fifth Anniversary Sermon. The Sermon still exists, to show how perfectly the ardour of fervent zeal may, and ought to be, tempered by maturest faith and wisdom. Before the end of another year, Beveridge was numbered with the dead.

Dean Prideaux.

Another of the masters of our Israel, Dean Prideaux, has been referred to in connexion with our Society, who has far higher claims upon our gratitude than that of being one of its earliest members and benefactors. The nature of those claims has been seen, in the treasures of learning which he amassed, and in the order in which he disposed them for the benefit and edification of the Church to the end of all time. It has been seen also in the efforts already detailed, which he made in his early life in conjunction with Boyle, to secure for the dependencies of the English empire in the East, the benefit of the full ministrations of the Gospel, towards the close of the 17th century; in the public appeals which he made upon this subject, first, to Tenison, and then to his successor, Wake; in the wisdom with which he never failed to deal with the difficulties that lay before him; in his desire to make one of the three chief English settlements in India the residence of an English

Bishop; in the partial success which followed his earnest representations, and, in the fact thereby established, that, let the sinful neglect of others concerned in the rule of our Anglo-Indian possessions have been what it may, it was a neglect to which the Church of England, as far as she could speak in the persons of her Primate and most favoured sons, was no party. The proofs of all this have been set forth in a former part of this work[17]. To see Prideaux, therefore, who had thus written and thus acted, joining with eager and hopeful interest the earlier meetings of the Society; to mark the instant readiness, with which he recognised it as the instrument best fitted to speed on the work to which he had so long and earnestly devoted his best strength; and the consistent resolution with which, amid pain and weakness and declining years, he strove to the very last to maintain it; is only to find another evidence of the righteous spirit which, in spite of sore discouragements and difficulties, ceased not to animate the Church of England.

Bishop Kennett.

Bishop Kennett, to whom our attention is next to be directed, was neither regarded in his day, nor is he likely to be regarded in our own, with the same unmingled feelings of respect and love which are awakened within us when we think of such men as Prideaux, and Beveridge, and Bray. The prominent part which he took in many of the political and religious controversies of his day, and his determined, and, in some instances, over-zealous advocacy of what he believed to be the principles of true liberty, involved in the Revolution of 1688, brought upon him the unmitigated wrath of many who viewed the dis-

[17] Vol. ii. 474—484.

puted questions through a different medium. It is possible that many of the same questions, touching the relations of Church and State, which are revived in our own day, may lead some who are opposed to Kennett's views, even now, to adopt too hastily the censures cast upon him by his contemporaries. But the remembrance of the profane and shameful indecencies into which his personal enemies were sometimes betrayed [18], must show how perilous it is to indulge the excited vehemence of party feeling. Men who are conscious of this peril, and seek earnestly to refrain from cherishing the spirit which leads to it, will see, oftentimes, reason to imitate and admire those from whom diversity of judgment on other points might have utterly estranged them. It is so with Kennett. Let the estimate of his opinions be what it may, it cannot be denied that, from the institution of the present Society to the latest hour of his life, he gave to it

[18] Whilst Kennett was Dean of Peterborough, he was exposed to insults of every kind, such as coarse libels and lampoons, hanging in effigy, &c. But all these were surpassed by one so monstrous and revolting as almost to defy belief. The Incumbent of Whitechapel, who brought discredit afterwards upon the Nonjurors by joining them, actually caused an altar-piece, representing the Last Supper, to be put up in his church, in which the figure of Judas Iscariot was represented in a kind of clerical dress, with a countenance strongly resembling that of Kennett. And, lest there should be any mistake as to the object intended, a patch was introduced on the forehead of the figure; the fact being that Kennett had been from early life obliged to wear a similar patch, in consequence of a severe fracture of his skull, caused by the bursting of a gun. Upon hearing of this outrage and the scandal which it necessarily raised, the Bishop of London ordered the picture to be removed. Would that the record of the disgrace itself could have been as easily obliterated! Life of Kennett, p. 140.

the most valuable aid, and that, to this day, the evidences exist of his zeal in its behalf.

His services in behalf of the Society.

The name of Kennett is enrolled in the Charter of the Society as one of its earliest members; and he was present, we have seen at their first meeting. He watched its proceedings, with the most constant and careful interest. In 1706, he published an account of what had been done, and of the prospects which presented themselves of further progress. Within four years afterwards, he drew up a further account of the proceedings; and accompanied it with a relation of what had been done by the *Congregatio de Propagandâ Fide*, constituted at Rome, by Pope Gregory XV., in 1622, and by Reformed Churches of the Continent. This work, his biographer states[19], was not then published on account of the probable expense; and I regret to add that I have not been able to discover any traces of the manuscript.

His Library for its use.

In 1713, he brought to a successful issue a work in which, with great labour and difficulty, and expense of time and money, he had been occupied during the interval; namely, a collection of every book, map, chart, pamphlet, or writing, which could be met with, upon the general subject of discoveries and colonisation of foreign lands, and the attempts which had been made to propagate among them the Gospel of Christ. The collection was, in its original form, of the greatest value; consisting of hundreds of works, in different languages, illustrating, from the earliest period, the work designed by him, and especially that part of it which related to

[19] Life of Kennett, p. 21.

the English possessions in America, the East Indies, and Africa. The want of such a Library Kennett had observed and felt, from the first institution of the Society; and had never ceased to do what in him lay towards the supply of it. He met with generous assistance from many friends; and, when he had gathered all the rare and precious materials together, and had made them yet more valuable by the addition of an explanatory catalogue, prepared by the Rev. Robert Watts, he presented the whole collection, under the title of *Bibliothecæ Americanæ Primordia*, to the Society, and, as it is stated in the title-page of the catalogue,

> For the Perpetual Use and Benefit of their Members, their Missionaries, Friends, Correspondents, and Others concern'd in the Good Design of Planting and Promoting Christianity within her Majesty's [Queen Anne's] Colonies and Plantations in the West Indies.

Kennett avows, in his preface, that he had emulated the noble efforts of Hakluyt and Purchas, in the effort here made to rescue from oblivion the records of brave and faithful deeds. His desire was to raise up and leave to the Society, and to the Church and nation of England, 'a Literary Bank,' which might enrich all; and he gladly paid in, what he modestly called his 'little stock, to begin with.' He indulged the hope, that others might carry on and complete the work which he had founded; that Royal bounty, or some other noble beneficence, might provide a convenient site and structure for the Library; that pious gifts and legacies might daily increase its 'store of literary merchandise;' and that thus there might be secured, not only for those who encouraged and planned at home high schemes of enterprise, but also

for the Missionary who went abroad to execute them under their guidance, the amplest and most authentic sources of information upon subjects in which the knowledge and experience of Englishmen, at that time, were necessarily most limited.

It was a noble design, nobly begun by its projector. With deepest shame, therefore, and regret, must it be confessed that its benefits have been almost entirely frustrated by those who followed him. His precious Volumes have been, until of late years, unnoticed and uncared for, separated and thrown about in garrets and in cellars, defaced and mutilated, and some irretrievably lost. This unpardonable neglect may perhaps, to some degree, be accounted for by the fact, that, for the greater part of its existence, the Society did not possess a house which could be called its own; and, as long as it was only the occasional occupant of Tenison's Library, or the tenant of apartments in a house open to other tenants, it was difficult to preserve unimpaired a collection of so miscellaneous a character, containing Volumes of the smallest size, and its most valuable papers comprised, sometimes, in a few loose sheets. The difficulty, no doubt, was great; but it might and ought to have been surmounted. I will not, however, dwell longer upon an evil which seems to be beyond all hope of remedy [20]; but express sincerely my gratitude for having derived, in spite of

[20] If this sentence should meet the eye of any collector of curious and rare books, who has ever met with pamphlets, bound up chiefly in quarto, and bearing upon the title-page, in pale ink, the letters '*Wh. Kennett*,' let me remind him that this mark invariably distinguishes the books which formed the above Library, and, if he wishes to restore them to the original owner, he can do so by forwarding them at once to the office of the Society.

many disappointments and failures, so much assistance from the Volumes which yet remain, which I have been permitted to consult[21].

His Sermon in 1712.

In 1712, whilst Kennett was Dean of Peterborough, he was appointed by Tenison to preach the Anniversary Sermon before the Society. Its title is 'The Letts and Impediments in planting the Gospel of Christ.' I could have wished that it had appeared with some others which have been lately published in a separate Volume; for, besides filling up, in some degree, the long interval which is there allowed to take place between the Sermon of Bishop Beveridge in 1707, and that of Bishop Butler in 1731, it might have been useful in exhibiting, what is, perhaps, not welcome, but yet most needful to consider, the real hindrances which impeded the progress of the Society.

His letter to Mr. Coleman of Boston.

The number and weight of these hindrances were evidently the facts to which the attention of Kennett was frequently drawn. Not that his habit was to take a discouraging view of all subjects, but because the examination which he had made of the present forced him to regard closely the difficulties connected with it. The following passage, in a letter written by him to Mr. Coleman in Boston, in 1716, supplies a remarkable proof of this fact, and deserves attention on account of the clearness with which Kennett proposes the only remedy for the evils complained of. The imme-

[21] In most of the United States, Historical Societies have been formed, whose object is to republish every original document which can throw light upon the rise and progress of each Colony. Copies of all of these were originally in Kennett's collection, and some still remain in it which have not yet found their way across the Atlantic.

diate occasion of writing the letter was to thank Coleman for the books which he had sent to his Library; and, after speaking in terms of the highest commendation of Archbishop Tenison, he thus proceeds:

> The two great difficulties that still lie hard upon our Society for Propagation of the Gospel, are, 1. the want of sober and religious Missionaries; few offering themselves to that service for the glory of God and the good of souls; but chiefly to find a refuge from poverty and scandal. 2. Such men, when they come to the places allotted to them, forget their mission; and, instead of propagating Christianity, are only contending for rites and ceremonies, or for powers and privileges, and are disputing with the Vestries of every Parish, and even with the civil government of every Province. The two mischiefs can hardly be redress'd, but by fixing Schools and Universities in those parts, and settling, we hope, two Bishops, one for the Continent, another for the Islands, with advice and assistance of Presbyters to ordain fit persons, especially natives, and to take care of all the Churches [22].

The last ten years of Kennett's life, from 1718 to 1728, were passed by him as Bishop of Peterborough; happily more free from agitating strife, and therefore enabling him more readily to watch over and promote the growing interests of the Society.

Character of the Society's Missionaries. The testimonies of Dean Stanhope.

It is right to add, with reference to the difficulty described by Kennett, in his Sermon above quoted,—that of guarding against the introduction of unfit men into the body of the Society's Missionaries,—that the most scrupulous care was taken by the Committee to prevent any such mischief. The testimony of Dean Stanhope, in his Sermon preached in 1714, is most explicit upon this point:

> It is not in the power of human wisdom to take greater precau-

[22] Life of Kennett, p. 123.

tions than they have done, not to be deceived in the character of the labourers sent forth into this harvest. And they feel the unspeakable satisfaction of knowing, by happy experience, that they have seldom (very seldom in comparison, and all circumstances considered) mistaken their men.

Of Lord Cornbury.

Lord Cornbury, Governor of New York, had given like testimony in a letter dated Nov. 22, 1705:

For those places where Ministers are settled, as New York, Jamaica [a town so called in Long Island], Hampstead, West Chester, and Rye, I must do the gentlemen who are settled there the justice to say, that they have behaved themselves with great zeal, exemplary piety, and unwearied diligence, in discharge of their duty in their several Parishes, in which, I hope, the Church will, by their diligence, be increased more and more every day.

Colonel Heathcote also, in another letter from the same Colony, of nearly the same date, writes,

I must do all the gentlemen that justice, whom you have sent to this province, as to declare that a better Clergy were never in any place, there being not one amongst them that has the least stain or blemish as to his life or conversation [23].

Anniversary Sermons before the Society.

The notice here taken of the Anniversary Sermons, preached before the Society by Beveridge and Kennett, may reasonably connect itself with that of others, which, from its institution to the present time, have been without any intermission delivered at the same Annual Meeting, and, with few exceptions, chiefly of recent date, published in the Society's Reports. It is impossible, of course, to give in this place any thing like a review of even the most important of them. The Volume to which I have just referred, contains, among the most distin-

[23] MS. letters, quoted in Hawkins' Historical Notices, &c., p. 46. The same are quoted in Kennett's Account, &c., *ut sup.*, pp. 22, 23.

guished of those delivered within the period through which we are at present passing, Sermons by Willis, Dean of Lincoln, the Society's first Preacher; by Bishop Williams, of Chichester; by Bishop Beveridge, of St. Asaph; by Berkeley, Dean of Londonderry, whose Sermon will be referred to hereafter; and by Bishop Secker, of Oxford, in 1741. Besides these, the reader who glances over the list of Preachers, given every year in the Society's Reports, will find many other distinguished names, such as Bishops Hough, Burnet, Chandler, Pearce, and Herring; and Deans Stanhope and Sherlock. In these early Sermons, one of the chief points of interest frequently adverted to, and about which much ignorance commonly prevails, is the difference between the Missions conducted by the Church of Rome and our own. The remarks upon this point, in Dean Willis's and Bishop Williams's Sermons, are especially worthy of notice, as describing impartially and forcibly the sources from which the strength of the Romish missions were drawn, and the evils by which they were debased.

Passage from Bragge on the Miracles.

Another evidence of the interest felt and avowed by the English Clergy in the work of Missions, at the beginning of the last century, is to be found in some of their writings still extant; and is more valuable, perhaps, than even that which is supplied in the Anniversary Sermons, because less designed and formal. It is obviously impossible to prove this by a long induction of particular instances. But, as a sample of several which I have marked, in writers of this period, I subjoin the following from a treatise by Bragge on the Miracles of Christ. Its author, who was Vicar of Hitchin, in 1702, published this and a similar work on the Para-

bles; and both are still deservedly held in estimation. In the visit of our Lord to Gadara, where He healed the demoniac, the writer sees an example to teach us,

Likewise with a more public zeal and diffusive charity to encourage and promote the spreading of the glorious light of the Gospel in the remotest dark corners of the World, and the driving out of Satan from those miserable places where he hath had the longest and most entire possession.

Fair opportunities [he goes on to say] have of late been offered, for those whose circumstances will admit of it, personally to engage in so excellent a work in our Plantations abroad; under the direction and encouragement of such, as through God's blessing (which cannot be wanting to so charitable and Christian a design) both have already, and still will make a great and happy progress in it. And every one of us may be assisting, though not in person, yet with our substance, by contributing towards the necessary charges of it, and supplying those clergymen who shall be employed in the evangelical service, with such helps as may enable them to perform it with success. And no doubt but 'twill be highly pleasing to God and our Saviour so to do, and shall not lose its reward: for this is a pursuance of the great work of converting a sinful world to God through Christ; that the most barbarous and ignorant, whose souls are equally precious with ours, may be brought to the knowledge of our only Saviour, and rescued from the clutches of the great destroyer.

This is an undertaking truly Apostolical, and the more discouragements may attend it, upon account of the great distance from a man's native country, his nearest relations and old friends; the great difficulty and danger of the work by reason of the barbarity and untractableness of the people, the strangeness of their language, the treachery and cruelty of their disposition; and many other uncomfortable circumstances that might be thought of, and no doubt are, by those that are entering upon it: the more ready should we be, who, in ease and security and plenty, sit at home, and enjoy what they are leaving with a heavy heart, to keep up their spirits and fortifie their pious resolutions, and to render all things as easy to them as is possible by a liberal contribution of what may make them cheerfully imitate the charity of our great

Master, when He made a compassionate visit to the wretched Gadarenes[24].

The Society's organisation of Foreign Missions.

The organisation of its Foreign Missions by the Society, the next subject which claims our attention, was commenced from the very outset. The following resolution, passed at a general meeting, February 15, 1702, will show the spirit in which this portion of the work was begun:

Channels through which the names of Missionaries were to be communicated.

That all the Bishops of the realm, who are members of this Society, sh^d be earnestly desired to recommend it to their Archdeacons and their Officials, that public notice may be given in their next Archidiaconal Visitations, that such Clergymen as have a mind to be employed in this Apostolical Work, and can bring sufficient testimonies that they are duly qualified for it, may give in their names to their respective Bishops, to be communicated by them to the Society, in order to sending them to such places as have most need, and where they may, therefore, by God's blessing and assistance, do most good. And, if any shall be sent to places where there is not a sufficient maintenance already settled, the Society will take care, that they may have not only a competent subsistence, but all the encouragement that is due to those who devote themselves to the service of Almighty God and our Saviour, by propagating and promoting his Gospel in the truth and purity of it, according to the doctrine, discipline, and worship established in the Church of England[25].

Their qualifications.

The utmost publicity was given to the terms of the above resolution, as well as to those which described the qualifications required by the Society in its Missionaries. Testimony was demanded in every case with respect to the following particulars:

1. The age of the person. 2. His condition in life, whether

[24] Bragge, *ut sup.*, i. 61—63.

[25] Account of the Society, p. 30.

single or married. 3. His temper. 4. His prudence. 5. His learning. 6. His sober and pious conversation. 7. His zeal for the Christian religion, and diligence in his holy calling. 8. His affection to the present government. 9. His conformity to the Doctrine and Discipline of the Church of England. And the Society request all persons concerned that they recommend no man out of favour or affection, or any other worldly consideration, but with a sincere regard to the honour of Almighty God and our blessed Saviour; as they tender the interest of the Christian religion, and the good of men's souls.

But if any person shall appear abroad in the character of a clergyman of the Church of England, and disgrace their profession by improper behaviour, the Society desire their friends to examine, if they can, into his letters of Orders, and to inspect the List of the Missionaries annually published by the Society; by which, if it shall be found that he came thither with their knowledge, they will, upon due information, *put away from them that wicked person*[26].

Their Instructions.

Next, the following Instructions were drawn up and promulgated. They embrace every particular which could possibly be required for the guidance of the Missionaries, and describe each with a faithful simplicity, and affectionate and prudent care, which it is impossible to surpass. I do not attempt any abridgment of them; because I believe, that, upon a subject so important, the exact and full expression of the original statement will be most acceptable to the reader, and will amply repay the time he gives to its examination.

INSTRUCTIONS FOR THE MISSIONARIES.

Upon their admission by the Society.

On their admission;

I. That, from the time of their admission, they lodge not in any Public-house; but at some Bookseller's, or in other private and reputable families, till they shall be otherwise accommodated by the Society.

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[26] Ib. pp. 21, &c.; Humphrey's Historical Account, c. iv.

II. That, till they can have a convenient passage, they employ their time usefully; in Reading Prayers, and Preaching, as they have opportunity; in hearing others read and preach; or in such studies as may tend to fit them for their employment.

III. That they constantly attend the Standing Committee of this Society, at the Secretary's, and observe their directions.

IV. That, before their departure, they wait upon his Grace the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, their Metropolitan, and upon the Lord Bishop of London, their Diocesan, to receive their paternal benediction and instructions.

Upon their going on board the Ship designed for their Passage.

On board ship;

I. That they demean themselves not only inoffensively and prudently, but so as to become remarkable examples of piety and virtue to the Ship's company.

II. That whether they be Chaplains in the ships, or only passengers, they endeavour to prevail with the Captain or Commander to have Morning and Evening Prayer said daily; as also Preaching and Catechizing every Lord's Day.

III. That, throughout their passage, they instruct, exhort, admonish, and reprove, as they have occasion and opportunity, with such seriousness and prudence, as may gain them reputation and authority.

Upon their arrival in the Country whither they shall be sent.

First, *with respect to themselves.*

In foreign countries with respect to themselves;

I. That they always keep in their view the great design of their undertaking, viz., to promote the glory of Almighty God, and the salvation of men, by propagating the Gospel of our Lord and Saviour.

II. That they often consider the qualifications requisite for those who would effectually promote this design, viz., A sound knowledge and hearty belief of the Christian Religion; an apostolical zeal, tempered with prudence, humility, meekness, and patience; a fervent charity towards the souls of men; and, finally, that temperance, fortitude, and constancy, which become good soldiers of Jesus Christ.

III. That, in order to the obtaining and preserving the said qualifications, they do very frequently in their retirement offer up fervent prayers to Almighty God for his direction and assistance; converse much with the Holy Scriptures; seriously reflect upon

their Ordination Vows; and consider the account which they are to render to the great Shepherd and Bishop of our Souls at the last day.

IV. That they acquaint themselves thoroughly with the Doctrine of the Church of England, as contained in the Articles and Homilies; its worship and discipline, and Rules for Behaviour of the Clergy, as contained in the Liturgy and Canons; and that they approve themselves accordingly, as genuine Missionaries from this Church.

V. That they endeavour to make themselves masters in those controversies which are necessary to be understood, in order to the preserving their Flock from the attempts of such gainsayers as are mixed among them.

VI. That, in their outward behaviour, they be circumspect and unblameable, giving no offence either in word or deed; that their ordinary discourse be grave and edifying; their apparel decent, and proper for Clergymen; and that, in their whole conversation, they be instances and patterns of the Christian Life.

VII. That they do not board in or frequent Public-houses, or lodge in families of evil fame; that they wholly abstain from gaming, and all vain pastimes; and converse not familiarly with lewd or prophane persons, otherwise than in order to reprove, admonish, and reclaim them.

VIII. That in whatsoever family they shall lodge, they persuade them to join with them in Daily Prayer, morning and evening.

IX. That they be not nice about meats or drinks, nor immoderately careful about their entertainment in the places where they shall sojourn; but contented with what health requires, and the place easily affords.

X. That, as they be frugal in opposition to luxury, so they avoid all appearance of covetousness, and recommend themselves according to their abilities, by the prudent exercise of liberality and charity.

XI. That they take especial care to give no offence to the Civil Government, by intermeddling in affairs not relating to their own calling and function.

XII. That, avoiding all names of distinction, they endeavour to preserve a Christian Agreement and Union one with another, as a body of Brethren of one and the same Church, united under the Superior Episcopal Order, and all engaged in the same great design of Propagating the Gospel; and to this end, keeping up a

brotherly correspondence, by meeting together at certain times, as shall be most convenient, for mutual advice and assistance.

Secondly, *with respect to their Parochial cure.*

With respect to their Parochial cure.

I. That they conscientiously observe the rules of our Liturgy, in the performance of all the Offices of their Ministry.

II. That, besides the stated Service appointed for Sundays and Holidays, they do, as far as they shall find it practicable, publickly read the Daily Morning and Evening Service, and decline no fair opportunity of Preaching to such as may be occasionally met together from remote and distant parts.

III. That they perform every part of Divine Service with that seriousness and decency, that may recommend their ministrations to their Flock, and excite a spirit of devotion in them.

IV. That the chief subjects of their Sermons be the great fundamental principles of Christianity; and the duties of a sober, and godly life, as resulting from these principles.

V. That they particularly preach against those vices which they shall observe to be most predominant in the places of their residence.

VI. That they carefully instruct the people concerning the nature and use of the Sacraments of Baptism and the Lord's Supper, as the peculiar institutions of Christ, pledges of Communion with Him, and means of deriving grace from Him.

VII. That they duly consider the qualifications of those adult persons to whom they administer Baptism, and of those likewise whom they admit to the Lord's Supper; according to the directions of the Rubricks in our Liturgy.

VIII. That they take special care to lay a good foundation for all their other ministrations, by catechizing those under their care, whether children or other ignorant persons; explaining the Catechism to them in the most easy and familiar manner.

IX. That, in the instructing Heathens and Infidels, they begin with the principles of Natural Religion, appealing to their reason and conscience; and thence proceed to show them the necessity of Revelation, and the certainty of that contained in Holy Scriptures, by the plainest and most obvious arguments.

X. That they frequently visit their respective Parishioners; those of our own communion, to keep them steady in the profession and practice of Religion, as taught in the Church of England; those

that oppose us, or dissent from us, to convince and reclaim them with a spirit of meekness and gentleness.

XI. That those, whose parishes shall be of large extent, shall, as they have opportunity and convenience, officiate in the several parts thereof; so that all the inhabitants may by turns partake of their ministrations; and that such as shall be appointed to officiate in several places, shall reside sometimes at one, sometimes at another, of those places, as the necessities of the people shall require.

XII. That they shall, to the best of their judgments, distribute those small Tracts given by the Society for that purpose, amongst such of their Parishioners as shall want them most, and appear likely to make the best use of them; and that such useful books, of which they have not a sufficient number to give, they be ready to lend to those who will be most careful in reading and restoring them.

XIII. That they encourage the setting up of schools for the teaching of children; and particularly by the Widows of such Clergymen as shall die in those Countries, if they be found capable of that employment.

XIV. That each of them keep a Register of his Parishioners' Names, Professions of Religion, Baptism, &c., according to the Scheme annexed, No. I. for his own satisfaction, and the benefit of the people.

Thirdly, *With respect to the Society.*

With respect to the Society.

I. That each of them keep a constant and regular correspondence with the Society, by their Secretary.

II. That they send every six months an account of the state of their respective Parishes, according to the Scheme annexed, No. II.

III. That they communicate what shall be done at the meetings of the Clergy, when settled, and whatsoever else may concern the Society.

[No. I.

No. I.

Notitia Parochialis; to be made by each Minister soon after his acquaintance with his People, and kept by him for his own ease and comfort, as well as the benefit of his Parishioners.

I. Names of Parishioners.	II. Profession of Religion.	III. Which of them Baptized.	IV. When Baptized.	V. Which of them Communicants.	VI. When they first Communicated.	VII. What obstructions they meet with in their ministration.

No. II.

Notitia Parochialis; or an Account to be sent Home every six months to the Society by each Minister, concerning the Spiritual state of their respective Parishes.

I. Number of inhabitants.	
II. No. of the baptized.	
III. No. of Adult Persons baptized this Half-Year.	
IV. No. of actual Communicants of the Church of England.	
V. No. of those who profess themselves of the Church of England	
VI. No. of Dissenters of all Sorts, particularly Papists.	
VII. No. of Heathens and Infidels.	
VIII. No. of Converts from a prophane, disorderly, and unchristian course, to a Life of Christian Purity, Meekness, and Charity.	

Then follow instructions for the Schoolmasters.

Instructions for School-masters.

I. That they well consider the end for which they are employed by the Society, viz. The instructing and disposing Children to believe and live as Christians.

II. In order to this end, that they teach them to read truly and distinctly, that they may be capable of reading the Holy Scriptures, and other pious and useful books, for informing their understandings and regulating their manners.

III. That they instruct them thoroughly in the Church Catechism; teach them first to read it distinctly and exactly, then to learn it perfectly by heart; endeavouring to make them understand the sense and meaning of it, by the help of such exposition as the Society shall send over.

IV. That they teach them to write a plain and legible hand, in order to the fitting them for useful employments; with as much Arithmetic as shall be necessary for the same purpose.

V. That they be industrious, and give constant attendance at proper school-hours.

VI. That they daily use, morning and evening, the Prayers composed for their use, with their scholars in the school; and teach them the Prayers and Graces composed for their use at home.

VII. That they oblige their Scholars to be constant at Church on the Lord's Day, morning and afternoon, and at all other times of Public Worship; that they cause them to carry their Bibles and Prayer Books with them, instructing them how to use them there, and how to demean themselves in the several parts of Worship; that they be there present with them, taking care of their reverent and decent behaviour, and examine them afterwards as to what they have heard and learned.

VIII. That when any of their Scholars are fit for it, they recommend them to the Minister of the Parish, to be publicly catechized in the Church.

IX. That they take especial care of their manners, both in their schools and out of them; warning them seriously of those vices to which children are most liable; teaching them to abhor lying and falsehood, to avoid all sorts of evil-speaking; to love truth and honesty; to be modest, gentle, well-behaved, just and affable, and courteous to all their companions; respectful to their Superiors, particularly towards all that minister in holy things, and especially

to the Minister of their Parish; and all this from a sense and fear of Almighty God; endeavouring to bring them in their tender years to that sense of Religion, which may render it the constant principle of their lives and actions.

X. That they use all kind and gentle methods in the governing of their Scholars, that they may be loved as well as feared by them: and that when correction is necessary, they make the children to understand, that it is given them out of kindness, for their good; bringing them to a sense of their fault, as well as of their punishment.

XI. That they frequently consult with the Minister of the Parish in which they dwell, about the methods of managing their Schools; and be ready to be advised by him.

XII. That they do in their whole conversation show themselves examples of piety and virtue to their Scholars, and to all with whom they shall converse.

XIII. That they be ready, as they have opportunity, to teach and instruct the Indians and Negroes, and their Children.

XIV. That they send to the Secretary of the Society, once in every six Months, an account of the state of their respective Schools, and the number of their Scholars, with the methods and success of their teaching [27].

Thus did the Church of England organise the means at her command towards the fulfilment of her divine mission at home and abroad. Some, indeed, may have desiderated a system more free from the imperfections which they deem to be inherent in all self-constituted Societies; and others may have looked for a more successful issue to the present enterprise than that which we shall have to relate. But, if the adverse influences, then acting upon and within the Church, be carefully borne in mind, it must, I think, be seen and acknowledged that it was impracticable for her to have framed any other theory, or to have exercised any other agency. She did what she could, with the instruments

Efforts of the Church at home, to

[27] See Appendix to Account, &c., *ut sup.*

within her reach; and strove to impart to them all possible strength and efficiency. The provisions to which I have called the reader's attention, of the Charter granted to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, prove the anxiety and care of the Church to secure the guidance of her authorised spiritual rulers, in every step of her Missionary course[28]. We have seen, also, that the earliest proceedings of the Society were directed with the purpose of securing the like guidance for her members in distant Colonies. It was this, which formed the earliest subject of consideration, among the members of the University of Oxford, who joined the Society in the second year of its existence[29]. It was this which, thirteen years afterwards, still formed the subject of correspondence between Dean Kennett and Mr. Coleman of Boston[30]. And when Kennett, in this correspondence, urged the appointment of two Bishops, one for the continent of North America, and another for the adjacent Islands, it is clear that he must have herein echoed literally the words of the chief spiritual rulers of the Church.

Secure Bishops for the Colonial Churches.

For Archbishop Tenison, who died in December, 1715, the year before the date of Kennett's letter, bequeathed to the Society the sum of £1000 'towards the settlement of two Bishops, one for the continent, the other for the isles of America[31].'

Archbishop Tenison's Legacy, in 1715.

We have noticed the efforts made towards the same end by the Church in Virginia and Maryland; and the evils to which her

Expression of the like desire in the Colonies.

[28] P. 27, *ante*. [29] P. 36, *ante*. [30] P. 57, *ante*.
[31] Office List of Legacies and Donations.

from the earliest time;

Clergy and Lay-members, in each province, were exposed by the failure of them [32]. The century now under review supplies abundant testimony to the same effect. One of the earliest Missionaries of the Society, the Rev. John Talbot, writes from New York, in 1702, a letter upon this subject, which the Society evidently believed to be a just expression of the truth; for one of his emphatic sentences is transferred, with hardly any alteration, to a prominent position in its first Report:

Publicly recognised by the Society.

There are earnest Addresses from divers parts of the Continent, and Islands adjacent, for a SUFFRAGAN TO VISIT THE SEVERAL CHURCHES; ORDAIN SOME, CONFIRM OTHERS, AND BLESS ALL.

Representations to the same effect, from the Missionaries and Colonial Clergy.

The same Mr. Talbot, writing in 1704, to his fellow-labourer, George Keith, who had gone back to England, speaks of Mr. John Lillingston, as about to follow him, in these terms:

He seems to be the fittest person that America affords for the office of a Suffragan; and several persons, both of the laity and clergy, have wished he were the man; and if my Lord of London thought fit to authorise him, several of the clergy, both of this province and of Maryland, have said they would pay their tenths unto him, as my Lord of London's vicegerent, whereby the Bishop of America might have as honourable provision as some in Europe.

Mr. Thoroughgood Moor also thus writes in the same year:

Excuse me to the Society, if I am earnest with them for a Suffragan, and that they would have a particular regard to the unanimous request of the clergy in all parts of America upon this account.

The truth of Moor's representations was confirmed

[32] Vol. ii. c. xvii. *in loc.*

by the receipt of a Memorial, in 1705, from the Clergy assembled at Burlington, in New Jersey, praying for the presence and assistance of a Suffragan Bishop, and pointing out, not only the disadvantages under which they and other ministers of the Church laboured from the want of it, but also the hindrances thereby cast in the way of many who had formerly been Presbyterian or Independent ministers, and who were now anxious to enter into communion with the Church of England.

The Society memorialises Queen Anne upon the subject.

Upon this, the Society presented a Memorial to Queen Anne, in 1709, embodying the substance of the several communications which they had received, and drawing the contrast which appeared between the imperfect organisation of the British Churches in North America, and the completeness of authority enjoyed and exercised by the French Canadian Churches[33]. Archbishop Sharp, also, whose unwearied diligence in like matters has been described before[34], directed his efforts, for a time, to the same subject; and, in conjunction with Bishop Robinson (of Bristol), Bisse (of St. David's), Smalridge, Stanhope, and Atterbury, then Prolocutor of the Lower House of Convocation, began the formation of a scheme, which he designed to submit to the consideration of that assembly, 'concerning Bishops being provided for the Plantations[35].' On account of the absence of the Bishop of London, whose cognizance and approval of the matter, by virtue of his relation at that time towards all Colonial Churches,

Archbishop Sharp's scheme.

[33] MSS. Letters, &c., quoted in Hawkins's Historical Notices, pp. 377, 378.

[34] Vol. ii. 540—549.

[35] Archbishop Sharp's Life, i. 352.

was indispensable, the scheme was not prosecuted further.

Queen Anne's favourable answer to the second Memorial of the Society, in 1713, made void by her death.

But the subject was still pressed in other ways upon the attention of the rulers of England. A second Memorial respecting it was presented by the Society to the Queen, in 1713, and received an answer so favourably that its members might reasonably have hoped to see the speedy commencement of the work which they had at heart. But the death of Anne again frustrated the design.

Memorial to George I. in 1715, proposing the establishment of Four Bishoprics, at Barbados, Jamaica, Burlington, and Williamsburg.

The Society renewed its application to her successor, George I., in a Memorial, dated June 3, 1715; and, after reciting the events described above, submitted to the consideration of the King a scheme for the erection of four Bishoprics, two for the Islands, and two for the Continent. Of the former, it was proposed that one See should be 'settled at Barbados, for itself and the Leeward Islands; the other at Jamaica, for itself with the Bahama and Bermuda Islands.' Of the latter, one was proposed to be at Burlington in New Jersey, and to comprise the whole British dominions from the east side of Delaware River, to the furthest point eastward, including Newfoundland; the other at Williamsburg, in Virginia, to extend from the west side of Delaware River to the furthest limit westward. The income of each of the former was reckoned at £1500 a year, and of the latter £1000. For the Bishop of Burlington, it was said that the Society had already laid out more than £600 in the purchase of a house and land.

The sources, from which the income of the proposed Bishoprics in the Islands was to be derived, were further pointed out in the same scheme, namely, 'the best rectory in the capital seat of each Bishop,' with 'the tenth part of all future grants and escheats to the Crown,' which the King might be pleased to grant, 'and such local revenues as shall be thought fit to be made by their respective assemblies.' The Bishop of Barbados, it was also suggested, should have, towards the completion of his income, the Presidentship of Codrington College, about to be erected in that Island. And, for the Bishop of Jamaica, it was proposed that a like provision might be made out of the Church lands of St. Kitt's, formerly belonging to the Jesuits and Carmelites, and others of the French Clergy. If these and other resources were not sufficient, the Memorial further prayed, that a Prebend in the gift of the Crown, the Mastership of the Savoy, or that of St. Catherine's Hospital, might be annexed.

Some of the above proposals were doubtless objectionable; and others would have been found impracticable. The removal, or modification, of every objection would have been no very difficult task, had the way been open to a full and impartial consideration of the whole scheme. But the political influences, working at that time with an effect so adverse to the Church, and, in the year of the presentation of this Memorial, aggravated by the outbreak of open rebellion, presented obstacles not to be surmounted. And so the scheme, which it had taken so much time and deliberation to prepare, was laid aside once more.

Failure of the scheme.

But the work, towards which the accomplishment

of this, or any other like scheme, was subordinate, was never intermitted. The Church of England still pursued the course which she had marked out; unnoticed, indeed, and uncared-for, oftentimes; but never abandoning her trust, never casting off the promises of Him, to Whom "there is no restraint to save by many or by few." (1 Sam. xiv. 6.)

CHAPTER XXIII.

THE ENGLISH FACTORIES IN EUROPE.—NEWFOUNDLAND.

A.D. 1701—1750.

I PROPOSE to confine this chapter to a review of what was done, or attempted to be done, by the Church of England, at the beginning of the 18th century, in two most opposite quarters of the world, namely, in the Factories of English merchants amid different countries of Europe, and in the first settlement acquired by English navigators in the western hemisphere, Newfoundland. These places are both comprised within the limits of the field of operation traversed by the Society, of whose institution and early proceedings at home I have given an account in the foregoing chapter. And although they have little in common with each other, yet the notice which I am here about to take of them will enable me to pursue, with less interruption, the sequel of the narrative.

The English Factories.

We have seen that the English Factories in Russia and Holland and on the shores of the Mediterranean, were coeval with the earliest extension of English commerce, in the reigns of Edward VI. and his immediate successors; and that,

in every instance, the effort was made to secure to the English merchant abroad, and to his family and dependents, the ministrations of that Church which had been their inheritance at home. There is not any more conspicuous or important fact, to which I have more frequently invited attention, than the uniform regularity with which the ordinances of the Reformed Church of England went, hand in hand, with the extension of the earliest commerce of England[1].

Moscow.

Two Factories of English merchants had been established under the Russia Company, one at Archangel, and the other at Moscow; being the first-fruits of the otherwise abortive effort, made by the fleet of Edward VI. to discover the rich territories of Cathay, through the ice-bound waters of the north-east of Europe. The merchants resided, in different portions of the year, at each Factory. The services of the Church were at first conducted by their Chaplain, in a private dwelling belonging to them at each place; but, afterwards, the Czar granted them a piece of ground at Moscow for the building of a Church 'with other conveniences for the Minister.' These last facts are recorded in the first Report of the Society; and it is added, that

> The Minister uses the Liturgy of the Church of England, and is desired to insert the Czar's name and his sons in the Litany and Prayers for the Royal Family.

The following grant, also, to the Chaplain of the Factory, mentioned in the same Report, proves that the Society was anxious to assist the Russians, with whom the English merchants were brought into contact, not less than their own people:

[1] Vol. i. 18. 25. 39. 48. 81. 162. 165. 267, &c.

To Mr. Urmston, a benefaction of Greek Liturgies and Testaments for the courtiers; of vulgar Greek Testaments for the common Muscovites; and of English practical books for the youth and servants of the factory, &c.

I have already referred, by anticipation, to this grant, in my description of the first commercial relations established between England and Russia[2]; and call attention to it again in this place, where it recurs in its proper order of chronology.

Amsterdam.

It is not a solitary instance. The chief channels, through which the energy of commercial enterprise, originating with the Lombards, had been communicated to England, were the cities of the Hanseatic League, and those of Flanders and the Dutch Netherlands. Hence the privileges, enjoyed by the Steelyard or Hanseatic Merchants of London, ever since the time of Edward IV., and restricted by the legislative enactments of Edward VI.[3] Factories of English merchants were, from the same cause, settled at an early period in Hamburg, the chief of the Hanse Towns, and in Amsterdam, and other places of trade, in the north-west countries of Europe. That the ministrations of the Church were enjoyed in most, if not all, of these places, is implied in the express jurisdiction, given under the Order of Council, to Laud, whilst he was Bishop of London, over the English Factories and congregations upon the Continent. And it is quite clear that the services which his authority was designed to regulate, were not then, for the first time, established. The terms of Laud's letter to the Merchants at Delph, in 1634, commending to them a Chaplain, who had been chosen by joint consent of their Company, and requiring them to allow him 'the

[2] Ib. 33.

[3] Ib. 30.

usual ancient stipend' received by his predecessors, prove, beyond all question, that the services of a Chaplain had been long recognised among them[4]. The same state of things continued to prevail, from that time forward. Hence the following notice of Amsterdam in the first Report of the Society:

> For the interest of the English nation, the honour of its establish'd Church, and comfort of its members residing here in peace and war, as gentlemen, merchants, soldiers, seamen, &c. The Burgomasters have given a piece of ground for building an English Church: till that can be compass'd a private Chapel is made use of, where there is a pretty good Church of England congregation.

The following grant also from the Society to Amsterdam is added:

> To Dr. Cockburn, £50 per annum for two years.

The Report states further, that, at Hamburg, Lisbon, Smyrna, Aleppo, and Constantinople, the ordinances of the Church were well supplied by the Merchants who traded or lived there; a sufficient reason why the Society should not feel it necessary to comprehend them, at that time, within its field of operation.

The Levant Company.

In fact, Smyrna, Aleppo, and Constantinople, were within the limits assigned to the Levant Company; and abundant testimony has been adduced to show how wisely and faithfully the rulers of that Company at home discharged their duties, and with what unvarying diligence, constancy, and success, the Chaplains, serving under them abroad, fulfilled their ministry, throughout the whole of the 17th century[5]. The same description will apply, I believe, to their successors, in the century which we are now reviewing.

[4] Ib. 410.

[5] Vol. ii. 117, &c. 271—274.

Lisbon.

In Lisbon also, as we shall see presently, there had been a continued succession of Chaplains, throughout the reign of Charles II.; and, passing on from that to the present period,—throughout the whole of which interval, the same system was continued,—we find that one of the most eminent scholars and divines of the day, Dr. John Colbatch, Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, who bore so prominent a part afterwards in the disputes with Bentley [6], was, for nearly seven years, Chaplain to the Factory in that City. Other Chaplains of like character succeeded Colbatch; and traces of some of their faithful ministrations still remain. When Dr. Doddridge, for example, in the autumn of 1751, repaired to Lisbon in his last illness, his biographer tells us that 'Mr. Williamson, then Chaplain to the British Factory there, often visited him, with the temper and behaviour of the gentleman, the Christian, and the Minister.' Although separated through life from outward communion with our Church, that eminent servant of God was thus, at its close, sustained and comforted by the services of one of her appointed ministers in a foreign land; and, when life departed, his body was interred in the burial-ground of the British Factory [7].

In connexion with this part of the subject, I must observe, that, although no other English Factories, except those just mentioned, are described in the earliest Reports of the Society as objects of its attention, some of its prominent members were most active in their exertions to extend the like benefits to other places in Europe, in which their countrymen were gathered

[6] Bp. Monk's Life of Bentley, i. 384.

[7] Orton's Life of Doddridge, p. 199, &c.

Leghorn.

together. Thus, in 1706, the English merchants at Leghorn, encouraged by the success which had every where attended the counsels of the English Cabinet, requested Dean Kennett, at that time Rector of St. Mary, Aldermary, to submit to Archbishop Tenison the desire which they had long cherished, that a Chaplain of the Church of England might be permitted to reside in that city; a privilege which, up to that time, the jealous tyranny of the Church of Rome had always prohibited. The English Consul at Leghorn, and the English Envoy at the Court of Florence, had done what they could to remove the prohibition; but the utmost assurance which they could obtain, was that the Grand Duke of Tuscany would connive at the presence of a Chaplain, should one be appointed. An express licence, or protection, was refused; and it was distinctly said that no exemption from the cognizance and supreme authority of the Inquisition at Rome could be allowed. In the face of these difficulties, Kennett took up the matter. His residence in a city Parish led him probably to know more of the wants and wishes of those whose business led them into foreign countries, and to sympathise with them more earnestly. The Archbishop co-operated with him with the utmost readiness; and directed him to write again to Newton, the Envoy at Florence, upon the subject. He failed to obtain a more explicit assurance of protection from the Tuscan authorities than had been given before; but, believing no attempt would be made to molest a Chaplain, the Archbishop directed Kennett to look out for a fit man for the appointment.

Difficulties in the way of appointing a Chaplain there.

Basil Ken-

It was proposed to several who declined

it. At length, Kennett's younger brother, Basil,—at that time Fellow, and afterwards President, of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, and author of the well-known treatise on Roman Antiquities,—consented to encounter the dangers which might fairly be expected to attend the office. He was approved of by the Archbishop; and a Commission, authorising him to perform Divine Service in Leghorn, 'after the usage and manner of the Church of England,' was granted by the Queen in Council, Sept. 8, 1706. A Royal letter of protection to his person was also granted; and, not without cause, as the sequel will prove. Addison, at that time Under-Secretary of State, and a warm friend of Basil Kennett, rendered great service by carrying the business quickly through all its official stages; and the first English Chaplain soon reached Leghorn.

Kennett appointed.

The anger of the Church of Rome instantly burst forth. The public teacher of heresy, she declared, was not to be tolerated within the confines of the Holy See. The English Envoy at Florence might, if he pleased, withdraw him to his own house, and retain him as his domestic Chaplain; but, beyond that limit, there could be no concession. The Court of Inquisition was superior to all civil powers; and, if the Envoy allowed Kennett to remain any longer at Leghorn, it must be at his own peril. The Envoy immediately sent home to England for instructions; but, before the answer could be received, he urged Kennett most strongly to repair to his house at Florence as the only place of safety. He knew that orders had been given for the seizure and imprisonment of Kennett; and, if once immured within the dungeons of the Inquisition, who

The dangers which threatened him from the Church of Rome.

The courage with which they were met.

could answer for his life? But the Consul and merchants at Leghorn were vigilant and bold; and so was Kennett. He refused to forsake his people; and his brother, with whom he was in constant correspondence at home, advised him to persist in his refusal. To this determination, he and his friends adhered; taking, at the same time, every precaution to baffle the agents of the Inquisition. The door of Kennett's chamber, in which he passed most of his time, was kept secure; an armed sentinel was stationed at the foot of the stairs; and, in the evening, when he sometimes walked out, he was attended by two English merchants, one on each side of him, with drawn swords, ready to defend him to the death.

Lord Sunderland's Letter.

In the midst of these difficulties, a despatch arrives from the Earl of Sunderland, one of the Queen's principal Secretaries of State, bidding the English Envoy assure the Grand Duke, that, if any evil befel Her Majesty's Chaplain at Leghorn, she would regard it as an affront done to herself and her country, and a breach of the law of nations; that she would, by her fleets and armies, forthwith demand and take satisfaction for the wrong; that the subjects of the Grand Duke in England, and those who then frequented, without impediment, the place of worship to which they resorted in London, would be placed in jeopardy; and that, if any more were said of the Pope, or Court of Rome, the Envoy was to 'cut that matter short by telling them,' that the Queen of England had nothing to do with that Court, but would treat with the Grand Duke, as with other independent Princes and States.

There could be no mistake as to the meaning of this

letter; and the signal victories recently gained by England upon the Continent, were no insignificant witnesses to convince the Court of Tuscany, that it was not safe to be any longer the instrument of Inquisitorial tyranny.

The admirable discharge of his duties by Basil Kennett.

All acts and threats of opposition, therefore, ceased for a time; and Kennett continued, for several years afterwards, officiating publicly in a large room in the Consul's house at Leghorn; and commending, yet more persuasively, by the consistency of his daily walk and conversation, the power of those truths which, by his learning and eloquence, he enforced[8]. The Roman Catholics of that city might well have been ashamed of their hostility against him,—if for no other reason, —for the singular agreement, with which a majority of the people were, in the end, won over to his side. Berkeley, afterwards Bishop of Cloyne, reports, that, when he visited Leghorn, in 1714, he was assured by the merchants that the Roman Catholics regarded Kennett as a Saint[9]. The strongest testimony also

[8] A Volume of Sermons, preached by Kennett at Leghorn, is still extant.

[9] See Bp. Berkeley's Letter to Sir John James, in 1741 (p. 16, 2nd ed.), on the Roman Catholic controversy, which I have recently edited from some of the Bishop's unpublished MSS.

A curious story is told, in the Life of Berkeley prefixed to his Works, p. iv., of an adventure which he met with during his visit at Leghorn. Basil Kennett had asked him to preach for him one Sunday; and 'the day following, as Berkeley was sitting in his chamber, a procession of priests in surplices, and with all other formalities, entered the room, and, without taking the least notice of the wondering inhabitant, marched quite round it, muttering certain prayers. His fears immediately suggested to him, that this could be no other than a visit from the Inquisition, who had heard

was borne to his prudence and wisdom and kindly nature by the English Envoy at Florence. And the biographer of his brother, from whose work I have derived the information here set before the reader, cites further evidence to the same effect.

Kennett's failing health.

It was the favourable impression, indeed, made by Kennett upon the minds of the people at Leghorn, which stimulated his friends, in that city and in England, to take steps for securing the permanent continuance of his office. As long as he retained it, all was safe; but his failing health made it advisable that an arrangement should be made with respect to his successor, before the actual vacancy took place. Many vexatious and formidable difficulties sprang up to retard the settlement of the question. Kennett was content patiently to abide the issue; declaring that, as long as life remained, he would not leave his post until he saw a successor ready to relieve him. Mr. Taubman, who had been a Chaplain on board the English fleet in the Mediterranean, was recommended to fill the office, and approved by the Archbishop; and the Queen was pleased to give orders for the execution of his commission. But, just at that time, Sept. 1710, the accession of Dartmouth and Bolingbroke to office changed the aspect of affairs; and the agents of the Duke of Tuscany, instantly

Difficulties in the appointment of his successor.

of his officiating before heretics without licence, the day before. As soon as they were gone, he ventured, with much caution, to enquire into the cause of this extraordinary appearance, and was happy to be informed that this was the season appointed by the Romish Calendar for solemnly blessing the houses of all good Catholics from rats and other vermin; a piece of intelligence which changed his terror into mirth.'

availing themselves of it, obstructed, by every possible device, the further progress of the matter. They found a bold and indefatigable antagonist in Dean Kennett; who put himself into immediate communication with the chief merchants trading to Leghorn; entreated Harley to take up their cause; attended with them before a Committee of the Privy Council; and drew up a Memorial in their behalf, which set forth the broad principles of justice upon which his brother's appointment had been made and maintained; and the recognition of those principles in the existence of similar appointments, not only in the Factories of the Levant Company, but also in Popish Countries, as at Lisbon and Oporto. A Petition was founded upon this Memorial, praying that Taubman might be forthwith sent out, with a Commission and letters of protection, like those which had been granted to Kennett; urging the consideration of the fact that the free exercise of their religion was granted at Leghorn to the Mahometans and Jews who resorted thither; and that the members of the Church of England, who now sought the same liberty, were not intending to cast any burden upon the government, but willing to defray from their own resources all charges incurred by it.

Petition thereon.

To a Petition so just and reasonable, it seemed impossible that any objection should be raised. But objections there were, many, and obstinately maintained. First, it was alleged that no English Chaplain had ever been allowed to officiate at Oporto; an allegation, at once refuted, by citing the names of Mr. Stephens, Dr. Barton, and Mr. Hinde, who, in the reign of Charles II., had been successively resident in that city, as Chaplains to the English

Attempts to defeat it.

Factory[10]. Next, it was asserted that the English merchants at Leghorn did not wish to have any successor to Kennett; which was in like manner answered by a fresh Memorial upon their part, addressed to the Archbishop, expressing, in the strongest terms, their continued desire that another Chaplain might be sent out. Driven from these pretexts, the opponents of the measure argued that Kennett's licence to officiate had only been granted on the ground of his being Chaplain to the English Envoy; and that his officiating at Leghorn had never been but by connivance; an argument, plainly overthrown by the terms of the Commission itself, which declared that he 'went over as the Queen's Chaplain, to administer to her subjects residing at Leghorn.' True, the English Envoy at Florence had given him a concurrent title, as his own Chaplain. But this had not superseded the authority of the Royal Commission; and, if the agents of the Grand Duke desired that a like concurrent title should be granted in the present instance, it would be given. In urging these pleas, Kennett and the Leghorn merchants had the hearty co-operation of Archbishops Tenison and Sharp, of Bishops Compton and Moore, the latter of whom had succeeded Patrick in the Diocese of Ely, and last, though not least, of Harley, who, during the prolongation of the dispute, had been created Earl of Oxford. Notwithstanding all this powerful influence, and the inherent justice of the case, no favorable decision could be obtained until October, 1711, when an Order in Council was signed, declaring that Mr. Taubman, '*or such other Chaplain as the*

Taubman at length appointed successor to Kennett.

[10] See also, p. 81, *ante*.

Bishop of London shall recommend to Her Majesty, be forthwith sent to Leghorn, in such manner, and with such circumstances, as the Rev. W. Basil Kennett was sent.'

The contest, which redounded so little to the credit of the Queen's Ministers, thus ended; and, upon the termination of Taubman's period of service, which, like that of Basil Kennett, was for five years, no further opposition was offered to the appointment of a third Chaplain, Mr. Crowe. The vindication, therefore, of the great principles of truth and freedom, for which Kennett and his brother and friends contended, was hereby made complete; and let the praise which is their due be gratefully awarded to them. Of Basil Kennett, indeed, it is only left to say, that the joy of those who welcomed his return to England in 1714, and witnessed his elevation to the high office of President of his College, was clouded by the fears of his approaching departure, which the feebleness of his health excited. His death, the next year, showed that their fears were but too well founded [11].

Important character of these transactions.

Let not the narrative, which has here been given at some length, be regarded as having turned aside, for too long a time, the attention of the reader from the main body of the work. For the same bonds of duty and affection, which bind the Church Domestic to the Church Colonial, bind her likewise to every spot of the wide earth, in which her children are gathered together for purposes which the nation accounts lawful, and by which the nation is enriched. The greater are the difficulties cast in the way of her children thus scattered abroad, the more

[11] The authorities for the above narrative of matters concerning Leghorn, will be found in Bishop Kennett's Life, pp. 49—160.

carefully ought she to furnish them with the means of spiritual strength and comfort; and where, as in the instance just related, her children were debarred, or threatened to be debarred, from that free exercise of religious worship which was their birthright, she was the more solemnly bound to gain it for them unimpaired. It was the consciousness of this obligation which led the Society, whose history we are now tracing, avowedly to include within the limit of its operation, some of the most ancient English Factories in Europe; and an account, therefore, of the efforts made by its individual members to extend the like benefit to other assemblies of their brethren placed in the like position, is strictly in accordance with that proposed object. The persons connected with the present transaction, it is true, were few in number; and the external interests which it involved insignificant, when compared with the vast work to which the Society was applying itself in other parts of the world. But nothing is really insignificant, which leads to the vindication of great and eternal principles of truth. And, howsoever limited may have been the interests of a small body of English merchants, at stake in the present instance, the difficulties which they experienced in obtaining what they sought for, may serve as a sample of those which operated upon a larger scale elsewhere. If it needed the exercise of bold energy, of untiring perseverance, of the combined influence of many who stood in high places, to secure to our countrymen dwelling in an Italian city, not until after many delays and disappointments, the continued celebration of holy services to which, not as a matter of favour but of right, they were entitled; we need not wonder that, in the case of cities and countries of

far greater importance, and bound to England by the ties of a closer brotherhood,—but yet in behalf of which the like earnest importunity to obtain the same right was not always manifested,—such services should either have been entirely withheld, or only partially and feebly given.

The intolerance of the Church of Rome exhibited therein.

One fact too there is, connected with the history of these transactions, which it is impossible not to remark and condemn; the cruel jealousy and intolerance of the Church of Rome. It was only the consciousness of an overwhelming physical force, and the avowed resolution on the part of the English government to exercise it, which saved from the horrors of the Inquisition an English Clergyman, whose sole offence was that he discharged in simple faithfulness the duties of his sacred calling. And when it was found impossible to withhold by violence from an English community resident in the same city, the free exercise of their religious worship, the arts of Court intrigue and the subtle pleadings of the Council Chamber were resorted to, for the purpose of compassing the same end. This spiritual tyranny was intolerable; and the whole civilised world, not under the bondage of Rome, has since declared it to be so. Nevertheless, it continued to exhibit the same hateful character, as long and extensively as it could; and the assumption of that supreme, infallible authority, which pretends to justify any and every act of the oppressor, has never been withdrawn. At the period, and in the countries of which I now write, and in every other country of Europe in which the Papal supremacy was acknowledged, the lordly intolerance of Rome relaxed none of its pretensions. Witness the indignant terms in which

one of our greatest poets in the last century has given utterance to his thoughts, when grief for the death of his suffering Narcissa was made yet more bitter by the refusal of the Church at Lyons to grant her the rights of burial. The

> Spirit nurs'd
> In blind infallibility's embrace,
> Denied the charity of dust to spread
> O'er dust! a charity their dogs enjoy!
> What could I do? What succour? what resource?
> With pious sacrilege a grave I stole;
> With impious piety that grave I wrong'd:
> Short in my duty, coward in my grief,
> More like her murderer than friend, I crept
> With soft suspended step, and muffled deep
> In midnight darkness, whisper'd my last sigh [12].

The refinement of cruelty towards members of our communion, of which Young here complains, we cannot doubt, would have been renewed, in any and in every place subject to the same rule, had it not been for the resistance like that made by the Church of England, in the case just described of Leghorn. She remonstrated, in clear and firm accents of truth, against the intended tyranny; and insisted upon right being done to the members of her National Church. She gained it for them. At Lisbon and Oporto her children already enjoyed it. And now the Dukes of Tuscany were taught, that they could no longer withhold it [13].

[12] Young's Night Thoughts. Night III.

[13] The shameful persecution of the Madiai, which provoked just and indignant remonstrances from so many quarters, when the first edition of this Volume passed through the press, exhibits once more a Duke of Tuscany the instrument of Rome, still unchanged in her intolerance.

Newfoundland.

Turn we now to the opposite quarter of the globe, and trace the course of proceedings in Newfoundland, with its lawless bands of fishermen and sailors, and poor persecuted Indians, as wild as its own dreary shore. Its discovery and first acquisition by England, and the long and cruel neglect which it received from her, have been fully detailed in the chapters of my first Volume. Suffice it here to remind the reader, that this large and important Island was regarded for many years merely as a huge fishing vessel, moored upon the sand-banks of the Atlantic; up and down the sides of which, for a certain season of the year, crews of rugged seamen were seen to clamber, and carry on their dangerous and toilsome craft; and which they again abandoned, as soon as they had prepared their cargoes of fish and oil and seal-skins, to enrich the merchant who had sent them forth. No provision was ever thought of for the stragglers whom these yearly visits necessarily brought to the Island; and many of them remained behind, spreading and multiplying their wretched settlements along the coast, long after their busy comrades had returned home. Neither was any compassion felt for the Red, or for the Micmac, Indians, whose hunting and fishing stations the rude Englishman thus invaded, and whose lives he often sacrificed to gratify his wanton and brutal appetite. The haven of St. John's, in which the brave Sir Humphrey Gilbert had set up, under the authority of Elizabeth, the formal tokens of English sovereignty, was still the chief English station in the Island. And yet, although in that and six other bays of the indented coast, over which England claimed jurisdiction at that time, 7000 of her

For a long time neglected.

people, and in summer 17,000, were gathered together, no minister of religion had ever visited them; no offices of religion had ever been performed among them. The knowledge of these facts, we have seen, had been communicated by Dr. Bray to The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge in the second year of its existence, whilst it still retained the spiritual charge of our Plantations. Its members instantly applied themselves to repair the grievous wrong. A minister, Mr. Jackson, was appointed; books needful for him and his people were supplied; St. John's was fixed upon as the chief place of his ministry; and authority was given to him to visit the six other English settlements, and to appoint a reader for the celebration of Divine Service in each [14].

Now cared for.

The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel was bound to carry forward the work of those whom it had offered to succeed; and the support, therefore, of Jackson was one of the earliest duties undertaken by it. He had gone out, in the first instance, upon the encouragement of a private subscription of £50 a year for three years; and that term having ended, and the people of St. John's being too poor to contribute to his maintenance, the Society presented him with a benefaction of £30, and agreed to provide the annual stipend of £50 for a further term of three years. Upon the expiration of this second term, Dr. Humphreys, Secretary of the Society, informs us, in his Historical Account, p. 41, that the stipend, in addition to other gratuities, was continued for several years to Jackson. But a

Aid extended to it by the Society.

[14] Vol. ii. 573.

closer examination of the Journals of the Society,—from which, and from its first Report, are derived our present materials of information,—it appears that Jackson was soon recalled from his post by the Bishop of London; and Mr. Jacob Rice appointed in his room. The recall of Jackson was not the consequence of any misconduct, but the inability, with his family of eight children, to subsist upon so small a stipend. This appears evident from a Memorial, addressed in 1705, to the Society by Mr. Brown and other merchants trading to Newfoundland, praying that a second minister might be sent to St. John's, and that Jackson might be one of them. It appears further evident, from the Report of a Committee appointed to make full enquiry into his case, and to communicate with the Bishop of London, and the Lords Commissioners of Trade and Plantations respecting him. Upon the consideration of their Report, it was resolved, Jan. 17, 1706-7:

The Rev. Mr. Jackson at St. John's.

> That the said Mr. Jackson is an object of the Society's favour and compassion; and that he, having been in her Majesty's service, as well by sea as in the Plantations, and having thereon suffered many unreasonable hardships, and being a man of good desert, he is worthy to be recommended to the favour of the Lord Keeper.

It is stated, upon the authority of Humphreys, in the before-cited passage, that a handsome Church was built, at the commencement of the Mission, but doomed to stand only for a short time; for the French, in one of their many efforts to take Newfoundland, landed at St. John's in 1705, and burnt both the town and the Church. As soon as the enemy was driven out, a smaller Church was raised, with houses for the inhabitants round the

A Church built there.

fort for greater security; but at whose charge these Churches were built I have not yet been able to discover. The Memorial, indeed, of the Newfoundland merchants to which reference has just been made, accompanied its prayer for a second Missionary at St. John's, with the promise that a contribution would be given to the support of both. And this promise makes it, in my opinion, probable that the chief, if not the entire, expense of erecting, within so short a time, two Churches at St. John's, was undertaken by the latter body. If I am right in this conjecture, it may serve to show that the Christian kindness and liberality of the Newfoundland merchant, which, in the present day, we have seen exhibited in many ways, have not been now for the first time called into action, but are a precious inheritance bequeathed to him by those who, more than a century before, pursued the same path of adventurous enterprise.

The Rev. Mr. Jones at Bonavista.

At Bonavista, a name given to the bay and cape north of Avalon, the Rev. Mr. Jones was settled, about the year 1722, by the liberality, as I think, of the Newfoundland merchants; for, although the Journals of the Society, in 1726, show that he was then in correspondence with the Bishop of London and its Committee, and received, at different times, gratuities of books and money, I do not find that any regular allowance was made to him, as it always was in the case of those who were upon the list of the Society's Missionaries. His Church too was soon built, from resources wholly independent of any which the Society supplied. He writes in 1730, reporting that it was nearly finished, and that a gentleman of London had given 'a set of vessels for the Communion and a handsome stone

font.' His ministrations were faithfully carried on, and gratefully received, amid an affectionate and willing people; and these evidences of his usefulness led the Society, in 1741, gladly to appoint him its Missionary in the more important settlement at Trinity Bay, as successor to one who had already begun a good work there. The proximity, however, of Trinity Bay to Bonavista enabled him still to keep up some intercourse with his former congregation, until the services of a regular minister could be obtained for them; and these were soon afterwards secured, for a short time, by the arrival of Mr. Peaseley, a graduate of Trinity College, Dublin.

The Rev. Mr. Kilpatrick at Trinity Bay.

Trinity Bay is one of the deepest of those which indent the shores of Newfoundland, and constitutes, with Placentia Bay,—from which it is only separated by an isthmus three miles broad,—the peninsula of Avalon. It had been made a Mission station of the Society, in consequence of an application to that effect from its inhabitants, in 1729, accompanied by a promise upon their part to build a Church, and to contribute £30 a year towards the maintenance of the Missionary, Mr. Kilpatrick. The discouragements which he encountered at first induced him to request that he might be transferred to a settlement in New York. His request was granted; but, finding greater difficulties there than in Trinity Bay, he applied for, and obtained, leave to return. His course thither brought him to Placentia, where he was detained three months, and did what in him lay to repair the evils, which he describes prevailing in that settlement from the absence of all religious ordinances. The joy with which his return to Trinity Bay in 1734 was welcomed by the

people proves that he had judged too hastily with respect to their supposed lack of sympathy and good will; and the testimonies received afterwards in England on his behalf from the Churchwardens and inhabitants, and also from Commodore Temple West then in command on that station, afford evidence not less clear of the stedfastness and success with which he continued to discharge his duties unto the end.

Succeeded by Mr. Jones.

The work thus begun by Kilpatrick was well sustained by Jones his successor for six years; at the expiration of which term, having endured, for twenty-five years, at Bonavista and Trinity Bay, the inclement rigour of the Newfoundland winters, he withdrew, with the Society's permission, to the tropical shores of the Mosquito country [15]; and there, as long as life lasted, continued his work.

The Rev. Messrs. Peaseley and Langman at St. John's.

Whilst such was the provision made, or attempted to be made, for the spiritual superintendence of the other settlements of Newfoundland, the ministrations of the Church were carried on in St. John's, its capital, not without occasional interruption. These were sometimes caused by difficulties arising among the inhabitants themselves; at other times, by the losses which they suffered from French invaders. A specimen of the former kind is to be found in the fact, that, when Peaseley, who succeeded Jones at Bonavista, was soon afterwards trans-

Difficulties encountered by them.

[15] This country, larger in size than Portugal, and of which Poyais is the capital, had put itself under the protection of England, when the Duke of Albemarle was Governor of Jamaica, in 1687, and continued in that relation until 1786, when it ceased, in consequence of a convention with Spain.

ferred to St. John's,—upon the assurance given him by the inhabitants, that a house and annual stipend of £40 should be provided for him,—he found the people so little able or willing to realise this assurance, that he was forced to abandon his post. This lack of support on their part is not attributable to any fault on his. The Church at St. John's was scarcely able to contain the increased congregation which, after his arrival, assembled within its walls; and the wants of those, who lived in the adjacent settlement of Petty Harbour, were also supplied, as far as possible, by the periodical visits which he paid to them. But the embarrassments into which Peaseley was frequently thrown, by the non-fulfilment of the conditions upon which he depended for a bare subsistence, compelled him to seek another sphere of labour; and the Society appointed him, in 1750, its Missionary in South Carolina.

Mr. Langman, of Balliol College, Oxford, who had already been favourably known to the people of St. John's by a former residence among them, was appointed by the Society to succeed Peaseley. His ministry proceeded for some years without any serious impediment; and was not only marked by the great diligence with which, especially in the catechising of children, he conducted it at St. John's, but extended itself to the different stations of Ferryland, on the eastern shore of Avalon, and even to the distant settlement of Placentia, on the west. But, in the tenth year of his labours, the town and garrison of St. John's fell a prey to the French; and all that he had was plundered. The losses, sustained in common with Langman by the rest of the inhabitants, now rendered it more difficult for them to do all that they had

promised towards his maintenance. Still, much that might have been done on his behalf was left undone. The house, promised to him as to his predecessor, was never provided. And, to eke out the bare pittance needful for the subsistence of himself and his family, the only sure provision upon which he could reckon was the yearly stipend of £50 granted by the Society. The offerings from the inhabitants were most precarious and scanty. He had, as he writes, 'to go and beg, as a poor man would for an alms.' Notwithstanding these heavy drawbacks, Langman persevered in discharging the duties of his appointed office, until his death in 1783.

Roman Catholics in Newfoundland.

The Journals and Letters from which the above notices have been derived[16], frequently refer to the large number of Roman Catholic settlers in the Islands. In St. John's, Langman states that there were, in 1752, 40 families of the communion of the Church of England, and 52 Roman Catholic. In Ferryland, a short time afterwards, he reports 64 Protestants and 86 Roman Catholics; at Reneuse, 9 Protestant families, and 16 Roman Catholic; and, at Fermeuse, nearly all belonged to the latter communion. This was caused by the attempt, already described, of Calvert to colonise Avalon, after he became a Roman Catholic; and Irish Roman Catholic emigrants continued to find their way to that same quarter of the Island, in after years, notwithstanding the failure of his original design.

Protestant Dissenters.

The number of Protestant Dissenters in Newfoundland, at this time, was small.

[16] I have examined most of these; and some I have thankfully taken as they are quoted by Mr. Hawkins in his Historical Notices, pp. 348—353.

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Only eight families at St. John's are classed by Langman under this head, being little more than a twelfth of the whole number of families then resident in the town; and he adds that many members of these joined habitually in the public worship, and were communicants of our Church.

Present efforts of the Bishop of Newfoundland in Labrador.

The especial claims which the Church in Newfoundland has upon the sympathy and support of the Church of England, were recounted in the seventh chapter of my first Volume. And I revert to them here for the purpose of showing, that, strong as they must then have been admitted to be, their strength has become an hundred-fold greater since, by reason of the noble efforts which Bishop Feild has made, and is still making, on the coast of Labrador,—a part of his Diocese of Newfoundland in which the offices of the Church of England have never before been witnessed[17],—and by the devotion with which the Clergy, acting under him, have obeyed his call. To enumerate, in this place, their acts of self-denying zeal and constancy, would be as impossible, as it is to pass them over altogether in silence. I must ask the reader, therefore, as he looks abroad upon the wide region of Christian duty, carefully and lovingly to consider those who are labouring in this arduous quarter of it. And, if the fire of Gospel truth, which now burns strongly in their hearts, spread, as it must, its light and warmth through lands whose spiritual desolation has been as cheerless as the fogs and ice and snow that cover them, let us, who now watch its progress, remember gratefully that the first few sparks of

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[17] For particulars of these, see The Colonial Church Chronicle.

the same pure fire which, more than a century ago, shed their light in the neighbourhood of that region, were those kindled by the hands and breath of Missionaries of the Church of England.

*** Since the first edition of this work was published, I have been favoured with the perusal of a MS. by the Rev. W. T. Bullock, Assistant Secretary of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, from which it is evident, that, nearly five centuries before the discovery of America by Columbus, Newfoundland was visited by European Christians from Norway, Iceland, and Greenland, in whose conversion our Anglo-Saxon forefathers had a share; that it was perhaps the seat of a Christian Colony; and possibly the scene of the labours of a Christian Bishop.

It does not fall within the limits of my design to enter into the same path of enquiry, or to examine the authorities referred to by Mr. Bullock (Rafn's *Antiquitates Americanæ*, and others). But I thankfully acknowledge the satisfaction which I have derived from reading this early notice of Newfoundland, and hope that its publication may follow at an early day.

CHAPTER XXIV.

THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND IN VIRGINIA, FROM THE BEGINNING OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY, TO THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE.

A.D. 1700—1776.

The English possessions in North America.

THE extensive possessions of England in North America, at the beginning of the last century, presented every possible variety of character, springing from causes of which the reader has already been informed. The territory furthest to the north, which now forms the Diocese of Rupert's Land, and offers many a token of hopeful interest to all who watch attentively the proceedings of our National Church in its inclement region, was not then in like manner favoured. The Governors of the Hudson's Bay Company, indeed, to whose pious munificence and watchful care it is so largely indebted for the means of grace which it enjoys [1], have, at all times, I believe, been anxious to

[1] A portion of the salary of the Bishop of Rupert's Land arises from the interest of a legacy by the late James Leith, Esq. The remainder is an allowance made to him as Chaplain of the Hudson's Bay Company. They also provide the Bishop with a house. See Return to the House of Commons, June 11, 1852, quoted in The

extend them, and have extended them, in such measure as they could, to all whom they employ. But, during the earlier years of their operations, the difficulties which they had to encounter in the country itself, and the necessity which constantly arose of resisting the attacks of French invaders upon their forts and hunting-stations, exhausted their strength. It need not excite, therefore, our wonder, to learn that the history of Rupert's Land, at the period now under review, supplies not any materials towards this work.

Rupert's Land.

And yet I would not, therefore, omit all notice of it. I avail myself rather of this opportunity to anticipate some of the chief points of interest which its later history presents, believing that they teach a lesson of encouragement and hope.

Brief notice of its later history.

The earliest agricultural settlement in the territory was formed in 1811 by the Earl of Selkirk, on the banks of the Red River, to the south of Lake Winnipeg; and, in 1820, the Rev. J. West was sent out by the Hudson's Bay Company as its Chaplain. Two years afterwards, the Church Missionary Society, in compliance with the wish of the Company, undertook to found a Mission there; and, in 1823, the Rev. Mr. Jones entered upon it. He found a Church already built in the settlement through the exertions of Mr. West. A second Church was added in 1825; and, in the same year, another Missionary, Mr. Cockran, was sent out by the same Society;—the Hudson's Bay Company still extending unto all the most efficient aid. The services of these and other faithful labourers, who

Col. Ch. Chron. ii. 400. For the circumstances which led to the formation of this Company, see Vol. ii. 459.

have joined them in later years, have been marked by a display of the noblest qualities, which, in any age or country, can characterise the Christian Missionary; and the successful issue of them has been witnessed, in the grateful willingness with which the Indians of the Red River settlement have received the Gospel message, and in their readiness to learn and practise the arts of civilized life. The preacher of righteousness taught them, as Eliot had taught the Indians of Noonanetum[2], to plough, to sow, to reap; and, when the harvest was gathered in, to erect the mill, and to grind the corn. He persuaded them also to abandon their miserable wigwams, and showed them how to build for themselves healthier and warmer dwellings. In 1844, the present Bishop of Quebec—who has now presided for twenty years over his extensive Diocese, with an energy, and zeal, and love, not inferior to that displayed by its first Bishop, his honoured father, or by his immediate predecessor, the not less honoured Bishop Stewart—undertook a journey and voyage of 2000 miles to visit the Red River settlement. Its population at that time exceeded 5000, nearly half of whom were members of our National Church. They possessed four Churches, erected at short intervals from each other, along a strip of fifty miles, bounding each side of the river. The largest congregation assembled during the Bishop's visit, which lasted for seventeen days, amounted to 500, and the smallest was not less than 200. The number of those whom he confirmed was 846[3]. In 1849, the Diocese of

[2] See Vol. ii. 198.

[3] See Reports of the Church Missionary Society *in loc.*, especially that which contains the account of the Bishop of Quebec's visit in 1844; also the Col. Ch. Chron. ii. 369, 370. 400.

Rupert's Land was constituted, extending from the western boundary of Canada to the Pacific, and from the northern frontier of the United States to the furthest limits of discovery northward. Its superficial area is computed to be 370,000 square miles, and the total population 103,000. Dr. David Anderson, formerly Vice-Principal of St. Bees' College, having been consecrated its first Bishop, proceeded immediately to the scene of his labours; and in a letter to The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, November 27, 1849, writes that he was about to consecrate the new Church of St. Andrew on the 19th of the following month, and to hold his first Ordination. He describes the Church as a large commodious building, capable of holding a thousand persons, and erected at a cost of twelve hundred pounds; which sum had been raised by local exertions, assisted by a donation of £100 from the Hudson's Bay Company. All the people had done what they could towards the accomplishment of the work. Some had supplied money; others had brought timber for the roof and interior fittings; others had quarried stone from the bed of the river; and others had given their labour in other ways. One man had furnished fine oak for the pulpit and reading desk; and another was busily engaged in framing and fashioning them. Although no professional architect nor any regularly-trained masons and carpenters had been employed, the Bishop represents the building as well-constructed in all its parts, and furnishing a fit model for all future Churches throughout the Diocese. The reports which continue to be received in this country from the Church of Rupert's Land confirm the good hope which has been cherished from the outset, that,

although among the youngest daughters of the Church of England, she will not be the last to make full and triumphant proof of the ministry entrusted to her keeping [4].

Provinces to the South of Rupert's Land.

The province nearest to Rupert's Land towards the south, subject to English rule at the beginning of the last century, was a part of Canada, north of Lake Ontario, inhabited by the Iroquois Indians, with whom in 1684 a treaty of peace was made by the English Governors of New York and Virginia [5]. To the east and south-east of these were the Colonies of New England, which became the home of the exiled Puritan, and stronghold of the enemies of the Church of England;—namely, Maine, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Plymouth, Connecticut, New Haven, and Rhode Island. To the south and south-west of New England, were New York, New Jersey, and Delaware, Colonies at first settled by successive emigrations from Holland, Finland, and Sweden; but which, at an early period of the reign of Charles II., had surrendered to the English arms. Westward again of these, was the extensive tract of country granted by the same King to Penn, whose name it retains to this day. Adjoining Pennsylvania, on the south, and Delaware, on the west, lay the province of Maryland; further still to the south, Virginia; and, beyond all, the Carolinas [6].

In some of these provinces, the position of the Church of England, and the character of her proceed-

[4] Col. Ch. Chron. iii. 438; and Bp. Anderson's Tracts.

[5] Vol. ii. 437.

[6] For the previous history of New York, New Jersey, Delaware, Pennsylvania, and Carolina, see Vol. ii. c. xviii.; and for that of Virginia and Maryland, see Vol. i. *in loc.*, and ii. c. xvii.

ings were so much the same, that the description of them in one may apply in substance to all. But in others, and those among the most ancient Colonies, Virginia and Maryland, the distinctive circumstances which attended their first settlement, and the disastrous consequences of which we have traced through the eventful years of the 17th century, gave to the Church in each of them a position altogether different from that by which she was known in any other territory of North America. The same characteristic differences continued to distinguish her in the same provinces, throughout the next century, as long as they remained subject to British rule. It will be necessary, therefore, to pursue, in each instance, a distinct and separate narrative.

Virginia. William and Mary College.

Our last notice of the efforts of Virginia Churchmen to mitigate the evils created and aggravated by the enactments of her legislature, and to prepare efficient instruments for the Christian training of her people, embraced the establishment of William and Mary College[7].

It only remains to state here, that the objects proposed by its establishment are expressly declared in the same document to be these:

> That the Church of Virginia may be furnished with a Seminary of the Ministers of the Gospel, and that the youth may be piously educated in good letters and manners, and that the Christian Faith may be propagated among the western Indians, to the glory of Almighty God[8].

Its first public 'Commencement.'

The first public 'Commencement' of the College—borrowing a term from the University of Cambridge,—was celebrated in 1700, amid a large concourse of people, whose in-

[7] Vol. ii. 385.

[8] Trott's Laws, p. 149.

terest in behalf of the Institution had been powerfully excited by Blair. Many of the Planters travelled to Williamsburg, some in coaches, and some in sloops, from New York, Pennsylvania, and Maryland, to witness the scene[9]. Even the Indian tribes flocked in, and gazed with wondering curiosity upon it. Their presence upon this occasion was in remarkable harmony with the main objects set forth in the College Charter, and with the wishes expressed by some of its chief promoters. In addition to the five Professorships of Greek and Latin, Mathematics, Moral Philosophy, and two of Divinity, provided for by the Charter, a sixth, distinguished by the name of Brafferton,—so called from an estate which secured the endowment,—had been annexed by the celebrated Robert Boyle, for the instruction of the Indians, and their conversion to Christianity[10]. It may be ranked among the last acts of that great and good man[11]; and was a

Indians present thereat.

Provision made for their instruction.

[9] Oldmixon, quoted in Campbell's Virginia, *ut sup.*

[10] Jefferson relates, in his Notes on the State of Virginia, p. 250, that, after the Revolution the Visitors of William and Mary College, finding that they had no power to destroy its constitution under the Charter, applied the five first Professorships to Law, Anatomy and Medicine, Natural Philosophy and Mathematics, Moral Philosophy, &c.; and the Brafferton Professorship to Modern Languages. He suggests also that the 'purposes of this last Professorship would be better answered by maintaining a perpetual mission among the Indian tribes; the object of which, besides instructing them in the principles of Christianity, as the founder requires, would be to collect their traditions, laws, customs, languages, and other circumstances which might lead to a discovery of their relations with one another, or descent from other nations.'

[11] Boyle died in 1691, and the Charter was signed in the following year. Blair was, a long time before, engaged in preparing it;

fitting sequel to the exertions which we have found him maintaining, through many previous years, in behalf of the Indians of New England.

Governor Nicholson recalled in 1705.

The aid which might have been extended to the College, in its infancy, by the Governors of Virginia, was greatly hindered by their frequent changes. Nicholson, indeed, who, since 1692, had been Governor for the second time, was recalled in 1705, upon the complaint of Blair, and six other members of the Provisional Council: a significant proof of the wide diversity of opinion which, I have said, prevailed between him and them in the administration of their respective offices [12]. The reason for his recall, as described by Grahame [13] and other historians of the United States, was the zeal with which he urged upon the Virginians the necessity of contributing to the erection of forts upon the frontier of the province of New York, as a defence against the French forces in Canada and their Indian allies. This measure, favoured by King William, was regarded with great suspicion by the Virginians; and the reiterated earnestness with which Nicholson pressed it upon their acceptance, forfeited all their confidence in him. Some, indeed, have ascribed his conduct upon this occasion to motives only of personal ambition, charging him with a desire to be himself the single Viceroy, in whose dominion the authorities of every Provincial Assembly were to be merged; and that the arguments whereby he sought

and Boyle's instructions, therefore, must have been communicated to him at the close of his valuable life.

[12] Campbell's Virginia, p. 103. See also Vol. ii. 393, of this work.

[13] Grahame, iii. 13—16; Beverley, 90—97.

to gain their consent to the measure in question were merely a cloak to cover his designs of self-aggrandizement. The accusers of Nicholson have failed, I think, to make good their charge, with respect to the supposed motives of his conduct. But the unpopularity, which he incurred in consequence, cannot be doubted. And it is only left for us to lament that one, who had received so many recent marks of especial confidence and honour from the members of the Church at home[14]; who had justified them, by the zeal and energy with which he then promoted her interests abroad[15]; and who, in his subsequent government of Carolina, gave further proofs of the same, should, at this juncture, have retarded her progress in Virginia.

Spotswood, Lieutenant-governor.

For the next five years, from 1705 to 1710, followed in rapid succession three Lieutenant-governors, Nott, Jennings, and Hunter[16], each of whom derived his authority from the chief Governor, George, Earl of Orkney, who continued, for a period of forty years, to enjoy the emoluments, whilst his residence in England exempted him from the cares, of that important post. In 1710, another Lieutenant-governor came out, Colonel Alexander Spotswood, an officer who had served with distinction under Marlborough, and whose administration of Virginia is still remembered with gratitude.

[14] See Vol. ii. 572, and p. 44, *ante*.

[15] The Rev. John Talbot, for instance, in a letter from New York, Nov. 24, 1702, states, that the meeting of Clergy then held in that city had been 'at the instance and charge of Nicholson.' Hawkins, p. 34.

[16] Hunter never entered upon the duties of his office, for he was captured on his voyage to Virginia by the French. He afterwards became Governor of New York and the Jerseys. Campbell's Virginia, p. 106.

For many years, he exerted himself with equal vigour and success in reforming abuses which had crept into several departments of public business, in enacting salutary fiscal regulations, in securing the administration of justice, in repressing the assaults of pirates, and in establishing friendly intercourse with the Indian tribes. It is stated of Spotswood, by Hugh Jones, a contemporary historian, that Virginia was 'far more advanced and improved in all respects, since the beginning of his lieutenancy, than in the whole century before[17]. It was his adventurous energy which, exploring the fountain-heads of the York and Rapahannock Rivers, first opened a passage across the Blue Ridge of mountains to the fertile valleys of the west[18]; his fatherly kindness, which, in an outlying fort, constructed for the defence of the Colony, received and sheltered the children of Indian natives; his munificence, which bore all the charges of their maintenance; his wise and pious and discerning spirit, which provided for them an instructor, who won their affections whilst he informed their minds. We learn, from the testimony of the writer just referred to, who had formerly been Mathe-

His passage across the Blue Ridge of Mountains.

His Indian School.

[17] Jones's Present State of Virginia. Lond. 1724. Preface, p. iii.

[18] The party whom Spotswood led upon this expedition, were obliged to provide horse-shoes, which are seldom required in the east of Virginia, where there are no stones; and, to commemorate the feat, he presented his companions with a golden horse-shoe, with the inscription '*Sic juvat transcendere montes.*' Any one was entitled to bear this badge, who could prove that he had drank the King's health on Mount George, the highest rock upon the ridge, on which Spotswood had cut the King's name, and which he had so called in memory of the King in whose reign he made the expedition. Campbell's Virginia, p. 107.

matical Professor at William and Mary College, and was afterwards Chaplain to the Assembly, and minister of James Town, that he had seen seventy-three Indian children together at school in that fort (Christiana), under the care of a Mr. Griffin, who had taught them the rudiments of Christian faith, and to read and pray in the name of Christ. The Indians so loved their teacher, that they would lift him up in their arms, and, if they could, would have made him king of the Saponey nation. He adds, that this school having been afterwards broken up, 'through opposition of pride and interest,' Griffin was appointed to the Brafferton Professorship in William and Mary College[19]. The pious intentions, therefore, of Boyle were, in this instance, eminently promoted by the choice which Spotswood had made of one who proved to be their most efficient instrument.

Scholarships for native youths established in William and Mary College.

In 1718, during the administration of Spotswood, and probably through his influence, a grant of £1000 was made by the Governors and Visitors of William and Mary College for its benefit, under the following wise and equitable regulations:

> To be laid out by them to the best advantage for 'maintaining and educating such and so many ingenious scholars as to them shall seem fit and expedient; having regard in their elections principally to the learning, vertue, and streightened circumstances of the said children or youths; and that all natives of this colony, and they only, be freely admitted to the benefit of the said scholarships, according to their qualifications as aforesaid[20].'

The influence of the same Governor was again acknowledged, in 1720, by the application of the name

[19] Jones's Virginia, p. 15.

[20] Trott's Laws, No. 42.

Spotsylvania.

of Spotsylvania, in honour of him, to a tract of country in the neighbourhood of the Falls, and extending for many miles along the head waters of the Rapahannock, which was then formed into a new county by the Virginia House of Burgesses. The whole county was made by the same Act one Parish, called St. George. A Church had already been built at Mattapony, for the use of the inhabitants of the frontier, before this tract of country was constituted a Parish; on which account, although two more were added within a few years,—one at Germanna, and another near the present site of Fredericksburg,—and although it was itself rebuilt within the same period,—it still retained the name of 'Mother Church[21].' Spotswood fixed his own residence, and also the seat of justice, at a village which he had founded above the Falls of the Rapahannock, and within sight of the Blue Ridge of mountains, and which he called Germanna, from certain German emigrants, who were sent over from England in the early part of Anne's reign, and met in Virginia with the same generous reception which had been extended, in a former day, to the Huguenot refugees. Intelligence of this kindly treatment had already encouraged several parties of Huguenots to seek a resting-place in the same province. Many of them were settled, in 1690, below the Falls on James River; and, in 1699, 600 more, with Philippe de Richebourg, their minister, were settled above the Falls, in the country formerly

St. George's Parish.

Germanna. French and German emigrants kindly received.

[21] History of St. George's Parish, by the Rev. Philip Slaughter, late Rector of Bristol Parish, Virginia, pp. 7—12. I gladly acknowledge the kindness of Mr. Slaughter, in placing in my hands the above and other materials of information respecting Virginia.

belonging to the Monacan Indians. The rigorous spirit of exclusion, which has been traced through former Acts of the Virginia Legislature, in matters ecclesiastical, was relaxed in favour of these French and German emigrants; and the full enjoyment of their own manner of religious worship secured. In the case of the former, an Act was passed, constituting their land a distinct Parish, to be called King William Parish, in the county of Henrico; exempting them from the payment of all other levies; and giving them full 'liberty to agree with and pay their minister as their circumstances would admit.' And, in the case of the latter, it was expressly stated in another Act,

> Because foreign Protestants may not understand English readily, if any such shall entertain a minister of their own, they and their tythables shall be free for ten years [22].

Churches at Germanna,

The Church at Germanna for the English inhabitants was built under Spotswood's superintendence; and, although the inhabitants of the Parish were freed from public levies, and an appropriation of £500 was made towards a Church in their behalf, there is little doubt that Spotswood himself bore the chief burden of the work which he was so forward to promote [23].

And Fredericksburg.

The Church at Fredericksburg was built anew, and that at Mattapony rebuilt, in 1732; the contract price for each being 75,000 lbs. of tobacco. The terms of the contract are still extant; and, in an age like ours, which has witnessed so much that has been done, and is still doing, towards the

[22] Hening, iii. 201. 478, 479; Trott's Laws, Nos. 38, 39.

[23] Jones's Virginia, p. 21.

Their materials, &c.

erection and restoration of Churches, it may not be without interest to see what were the materials and forms of Churches raised, more than a century ago, by our brethren on the other side of the Atlantic:

Each Church is to be underpinned with a brick or stone wall, two feet above the surface of the earth, and eighteen inches thick, to be fourteen feet pitch from the upper part of the sills to the plate; each Church is to have ten windows, seven feet by three, each pane of good crown glass from London, and eighteen panes in each sash; to be well shingled with good cypress shingles; the floors to be well laid with good pine plank without any sap, an inch and a half thick at least; the roof to be overjetted twelve inches, with a handsome modillion cornice; the rafters to be five inches by four; the studs nine by four; the posts nine by twelve; the braces nine square; the plates twelve by nine; the sills twelve square; the sleepers nine by six; the summers and girders of the under floor to be supported by brick or stone; the pews to be wainscoated, and the walls also as high as the pews; the doors, windows, and cornice to be three times well painted and laid with white lead; all the rest of the outside to be well tarred; each Church to be well plastered and whitewashed with lime; the whole to be well, sufficiently, and completely done and finished in a workmanlike manner, with the best materials.

Twenty-five years later (1756) an addition was made to these Churches, the full width of each Church, and thirty-two feet in length, so as to give them the form of a T [24].

Orders of Vestry respecting them,

These Churches were supplied by their respective Vestries with the articles required for the due celebration of public worship, as appears from the following instruction given, in June, 1729, to

Mr. Taliaferro to send to England, as soon as possible, for three surplices for the three churches in this parish.

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[24] Slaughter's History of St. George's Parish, pp. 15, 16.

Again:

1733, October. Col. Waller was desired to send to England for pulpit-cloths and cushions for each church in the parish, to be of crimson velvet with gold tassels; each cloth having a cypher, with the initials St. G. P. He was also directed to send for two silver chalices [25].

And their respective Ministers.

The Vestries were further careful to provide for their respective ministers the support required by the laws of the Colony. The Minutes declare,

There being no glebe in the parish at this time (1729), the minister, the Rev. Mr. Kenner, resided at Germanna, and was allowed, in addition to his regular salary, the sum of 4500 lbs. of tobacco for his board, instead of a glebe, to which he was entitled by law.

Again, before the expiration of the same year,

The churchwardens purchased a glebe, for which they gave 22,500 lbs. of tobacco, and erected upon it a parsonage, 24 by 48 feet, for the further sum of 4506 lbs. of tobacco. In the deed conveying this property to the vestry, which is on record in the county court of Spotsylvania, it is described as lying on the south side of the river Po, about a mile above the falls of the same.

Tobacco the medium of all payments.

It thus appears that tobacco continued to be, as before, the medium of all payments in Virginia. The following table, contained in another part of the same Vestry book, supplies a curious example of the practice:

Dr.	St. George's Parish.	lbs. of Tobacco.
To Rev. James Marye, his salary per year	. . .	16,000
To George Carter, Reader at Mattapony	. . .	1,000
To R. Stuart, Reader at Rapahannock	. . .	1,000
To Readers at Germanna and the Chapel	. . .	2,000
To Zachary Lewis, for prosecuting all suits for parish, per annum	. . . . .	500

[25] Ib. 14. 18.

Dr. St. George's Parish	lbs. of Tobacco.
To Mary Day, a poor woman	350
To Mrs. Livingston, for salivating a poor woman, and promising to cure her again if she should be sick in twelve months	1,000
To James Atkins, a poor man	550
To M. Bolton, for keeping a bastard child a year	800
To Sheriff, for Quit-rents of Glebe-land	350
To John Taliaferro, for three surplices	5,000
To Wm. Philips, Reader at the Mountain	325
To John Gordon, Sexton at Germanna	5,000
To John Taliaferro, for keeping a poor girl six months	1,000
To Edmund Herndon, for maintaining Thomas Moor	500

Cr. St. George's Parish.	
1,500 tythables, at 22 lbs. of tobacco per poll	33,300
175 tythables employed in Spotswood's iron works, exempted by law from paying tythes [26].	

Bristol Parish.

Another curious instance of the same is found in the earliest records of the Vestry of Bristol Parish, Oct. 30, 1720;

Bristol Parish, Dr. to Mr. Henry Tatem, for setting the Psalms, 500 pounds of tobacco.

The above Vestry was held at the 'Ferry Chapel,' so called from its vicinity to the ferry over the Appomattuck River. It was built in the district afterwards called Bristol Parish; another place of worship, called the Mother Church, having been before erected in the same quarter, near Bermuda Hundred. All traces of their sites have long since ceased to exist. The inhabitants of the Parish seem from the first to have been careful to provide for its spiritual wants. Thus,

[26] Ib. p. 19. The item relating to surplices in the above table must be erroneously given, for their amount is put at five times the salary of a lay-reader, and nearly a third of that of the minister.

in 1720, an Act was passed by the House of Burgesses for building a Chapel within its borders. Again, in 1725, as the population spread towards the west, and settled upon Namoseen and Sapponey Creeks, the Vestry gave instructions for the building of two Chapels for the use of the 'frontier inhabitants,' adding the like particulars with regard to the materials and dimensions of each which have been already noticed with respect to the Churches in St. George's Parish. In 1750, these Chapels were enlarged, and a third ordered to be built in a still remoter quarter. Two years afterwards, a fourth was built for the benefit of the inhabitants in the upper part of the Parish. Only one Clergyman was placed in charge of the Mother Church and the various Chapels; and Lay-readers were provided in every congregation to conduct, as far as they were able, the services of the Church in his absence[27].

Its Churches.

As years pass on, the Vestry Books of Bristol Parish, and those of Ralegh and Dale, which were formed in 1736 from portions of that and adjoining Parishes, supply continued evidence of new Churches built or enlarged. The origin of the old brick Church on Blandford Hill,—the ruins of which are still standing,—and those of Chapels built at Hatcher's Run and Hole's Creek, and other places, are given in these simple yet faithful records; and many an instance of honest and persevering zeal may be traced in the prosecution of these and kindred works[28].

Its subdivisions.

Facts of a less pleasing character are also established

[27] Slaughter's History of Bristol Parish, pp. 18—21.

[28] Ib. 21—24.

Punishment for spiritual offences.

by the same records; and prove that the pernicious practice of punishing spiritual offences by temporal penalties still prevailed. Witness the following entry in the Vestry Minutes of St. George's Parish:

1724. Information brought by Thomas Cheed, Churchwarden, against Jno. Digg, for absenting himself from the place of divine worship: he is fined 10 shillings, or 100 lbs. of tobacco, or must receive corporal punishment in lieu thereof, as the law directs.

Again, upon information of the same Churchwarden, in 1722, Thomas Mosley and John Shelton, having been committed for taking upon themselves to baptize the child of one Ann Alsop, were required to give bond and security for their good behaviour; and, in default of appearing to answer at the next court, were ordered to be committed to jail, and receive thirty-one lashes on their bare backs, sixteen in the evening and fifteen in the morning. Thirteen presentments were also made at the same court by the Grand Jury, of absentees from public worship. It is right to add that only one of these cases was prosecuted to execution; and Mr. Slaughter, to whose examination of the Vestry Books I am indebted for the above particulars [29], justly thinks that this mitigation of the law's rigour was owing to the progress which public opinion was then making towards that end. I am further disposed to think that one cause, which gave this wholesome impulse to public opinion, was the equity and vigilance of Spotswood's administration.

Defects of the Church in Virginia.

But it was impossible for any Governor, however just or active, by the exercise of secular authority alone, to breathe into the

[29] History of St. George's Parish, pp. 8, 9.

framework of a Church establishment the breath of life, or make the energy of that life a blessing. If the ordinances of that Church were only partially administered, and those spiritual rulers, from whom was derived, by her ministers, their commission to teach and to serve, were not at hand to enforce and regulate its duties, it was impossible that abuses should not creep in and abound. Endowments provided by the Colonial Legislature in such a case only magnified the evil. They bribed to indolence ministers already settled in the province; attracted from the mother country others who had long been a reproach to it; and created discontent among the people, who found themselves charged with payments for duties which were not efficiently performed.

Power of Vestries over the Clergy.

In Virginia, especially, a tempting opportunity always existed for manifesting this discontent, in consequence of the controul which the Vestry of every Parish had in the appointment or removal of the minister[30]. They exercised this sometimes with extreme rigour. In 1739, upon the death of Mr. George Robertson, who had been the incumbent of Bristol Parish for more than twenty years, Mr. Richard Heartswell was elected; but a misunderstanding having arisen between him and the Vestry, touching the terms of their contract, he was discharged on the following day, and a resolution was passed,

> That Mr. Heartswell should not be the Minister of the Parish *on the original terms of the contract, nor on any other terms whatsoever*[31].

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[30] Vol. ii. 350—352.

[31] Slaughter's History of Bristol Parish, 25. Mr. S. states that the Clergyman appointed to fill the vacancy for a time, was Mr.

Again, the Vestry Minutes of St. George's Parish, in January 1732-3, exhibit a notice to the Rev. Mr. Kenner,

> That he need not give himself any further trouble to come and preach in that parish.

And, in 1734, when a Mr. Smith had arrived with a letter of commendation from the then Governor, Sir William Gooch, the Vestry, after hearing two of his sermons, appointed a Committee to inform the Governor,

> That Mr. Smith's preaching was so generally disliked in the parish, that they could not receive him as their Minister [32].

The ground of their dislike to Mr. Smith is not set forth; neither is any reason given for the dismissal of Mr. Kenner. Mr. Slaughter, indeed, cites the testimony of Col. Byrd, author of a work, entitled 'Progress to the Mines,' from which it might be inferred that Kenner was addicted to rash and foolish jesting. But no definite or tangible charge appears any where; and such undoubtedly there ought to have been, to have justified these proceedings of the Vestry. It is true that there remained a power of appeal to the Governor and Council; and that the formal act of removing ministers rested with the Grand Assembly. But, as I have shown elsewhere, no security was thereby given against the infliction of injustice upon the individual minister or the Church whom he served [33]. He was liable, for alleged spiritual offences, to be tried by judges purely

Evil consequences thereof.

Stith, formerly of William and Mary College, who was then staying at Varina, and engaged in writing his History of Virginia.

[32] Slaughter's History of St. George's Parish, 17—19.

[33] Vol. i. 470—472.

secular; and no other ruler was near him who might protect him from wrong, and lead him on to right. The evils against which Godwyn had formerly remonstrated, were probably aggravated by the lapse of time; and if, in his day, Vestries could use their ministers and lay-readers 'how they pleased, pay them what they listed, and discard them whensoever they had a mind to it[34],' we can readily understand to what a precarious condition the main body of the Virginia Clergy must, by the continuance of such a system, have been reduced.

Jones's testimony upon this subject.

The testimony of Jones upon this point is most distinct. Distressing contests, he says, frequently sprang up between the Governor and Vestries of Parishes as to the right of presentation to livings. Each party claimed the right, and insisted upon the exclusive exercise of it. To the Governor alone, as Ordinary, was authority given to institute and induct. But, in Jones's time, three or four Rectors were thus formally inducted, in consequence of the power which the Vestries possessed of shutting the church doors against the Clergyman, and stopping his supplies at any moment. They considered themselves, to use their own language, 'as masters of the parson,' agreeing with him only from year to year, with authority to turn him off from their service whenever they would. 'Some few,' he adds, 'would be content rather never to appoint a minister, than ever to pay his salary.' To restrain these evils by such control as could be exercised by the Ecclesiastical Commissary was hopeless. Visitations had been attempted in vain. The abuses and rigour of the Ecclesiastical

[34] Vol. ii. 350.

Courts, the same writer informs us, had so terrified the people, that they hated their very name; and any mode, howsoever arbitrary, of settling their differences, was preferred to that of yielding to so intolerable a yoke.

Irregularities which ensued.

Irregularities of every kind quickly followed. To alter the Liturgy according to the will of the individual minister, or sometimes at the dictation of those among whom he officiated; to discard the use of the surplice; to sit during the celebration of the Holy Communion; to administer Baptism, and solemnize marriage in private houses, without any regard to the time of day, or the season of the year; and to bury the dead in gardens or orchards, within temporary enclosures, were practices which commonly prevailed. Every minister is described by Jones as being 'a kind of Independent in his own parish.' The practice, indeed, of burying the dead in gardens, was, in that sultry climate, absolutely necessary, by reason of the enormous size of Parishes, some of them 60 miles long. Hence arose another practice of having funeral sermons preached in private houses, for which a fee of forty shillings was paid to the minister. 'Most of the middle people,' adds Jones, 'will have them.' In case of the Clergyman's death or absence, the clerk frequently performed all the offices of the Church.

Exceptions thereto.

Notwithstanding these irregularities and discouragements, not a few of the Clergy remained stedfast; and are described by Jones as 'worthy, prudent, and pious, meeting with the love, reputation, respect, and encouragement that such good men may deserve to expect.'

Decline of

But these, it must be confessed, were

William and Mary College.

exceptions to their general character. The spiritual condition of the Colony was evidently on the decline. The zeal and energy which marked the first operations of William and Mary College, and the munificence of her first endowments, were utterly lost in the feebleness and indolence which ensued. Its Charter had named Bishop Compton as its first Chancellor, for a period of seven years; and, at the time at which Jones published the work to which I have referred above, Archbishop Wake filled that office[35]. All the sanction and encouragement, therefore, which lofty names and dignities could give to it were continued. Yet, Jones describes it as having been for a long time 'a college without a chapel, without a scholarship, without a statute; having a library without books, a President without a fixed salary, a Burgess without certainty of electors.' The department for the instruction of Indian children had suffered along with the rest. The change of diet and mode of life had caused many of them to fall sick and die; and others had become impatient and suspicious, and had gone back again to their native haunts unimproved.

And of the department for the instruction of Indians.

The hope of removing these various evils entertained by Jones.

But the writer who thus, without concealment or reserve, relates the facts of which he was an eye-witness, was still hopeful and vigilant. He saw that there was a remedy for the evils which he deplored, and did what he could to apply it. The practical suggestions which he gives for the more efficient conduct of William and Mary College are most valuable; and the knowledge of them awakens a deeper feeling of regret that they

[35] Trott's Laws, p. 155; Preface to Jones's Virginia, p. v.

did not meet with immediate attention. In other matters, also, which needed correction, he pointed out the means which were at hand for ensuring it; and seeing the great advancement in matters temporal which Virginia had made under the administration of Spotswood, he felt assured that, 'in spiritual concernments it might also abound, were the attempts made for the due regulation of the Church, as well as State, brought to maturity[36].'

His earnest desir for the presence of a Bishop.

The proposals made by Jones towards this end appear in different portions of his work. But that which he again and again dwells upon, and without which he foresaw every other remedy would be abortive, was the presence of a faithful, wise, and loving Bishop. Remembering the former unsuccessful attempt to secure a Bishop for Virginia, he was content, until the full appointment could be made, to gain, if possible, the services of some Ecclesiastical officer, with authority superior to that hitherto exercised by the Bishop of London's Commissary, who might be called Dean of Virginia.

The appointment of an officer invested with powers so limited, would obviously not have been a sufficient remedy for all the evils complained of. But the mere fact that such a design should have been entertained and promulgated at this time, proves the greatness of the wrong then inflicted upon the Virginian Church, and the eagerness with which her children were ready to welcome even the faintest hope of redress.

Incorrectness of the story that

According to some accounts, it might be supposed that a plan for constituting Vir-

[36] Preface to Jones's Virginia, p. iii. The rest of the information which I have gathered from his book is to be found pp. 65—104.

Dean Swift was designed to be Bishop of Virginia.

ginia a separate Diocese had been formed, in the early part of the last century, by the authorities at home, and that Dean Swift was even once designed to preside over it as its first Bishop. The testimony of Walter Scott, in his Life of Swift, prefixed to his edition of Swift's works [37], is cited in proof of the correctness of the story. But I think it has been received too hastily, and that there is no just ground for believing that such a design was ever cherished; or, that, if it were, Swift was concerned with it. It is true, indeed, that Scott speaks, in the passage referred to, of Swift having been designed to be Bishop of Virginia, and adds that it was a plan probably suggested by Hunter, Governor of Virginia. But the fact is, that Hunter, although once nominated Lieutenant-governor of Virginia, never reached that province, having been captured by the French on his voyage thither [38]. It is true, that, whilst Hunter was still a prisoner in Paris, Swift writes to him, Jan. 12, 1708-9, and says,

> Vouz savez que—Monsieur Addison, notre bon ami, est fait secrétaire d'état d'Irlande; and unless you make haste over and get my Virginia bishoprick, he will persuade me to go with him, for the Vienna project is off, which is a great disappointment to the design I had of displaying my politics at the Emperor's Court.

Again, two months later, he writes also to Hunter,

> I shall go from Ireland sometime in summer, being not able to make my friends in the ministry consider my merits, or their promises, enough to keep me here; so that all my hopes now terminate in my bishoprick of Virginia [39].

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[37] Vol. i. p. 98, quoted by Hawkins, in his Historical Notices, &c., p. 378.

[38] See p. 111, *ante, note.*

[39] Swift's Works (Scott's ed.) xv. 295. 308.

In like manner, four years afterwards, when Hunter was Governor of New York, he writes to Swift saying,

> I have purchased a seat for a Bishop, and by orders from the Society have given directions to prepare it for his reception. You once upon a day gave me hopes of seeing you there. It would be no small relief to have so good a friend to complain to [40].

But these passages fail to prove that there was ever any serious intention, on the part of our temporal or spiritual rulers, to nominate Swift to the Bishopric of Virginia. They show, indeed, that when the prospect of such an event had been opened to Swift by the appointment of his friend Hunter to the governorship of Virginia, and afterwards of New York, his restless and scheming spirit strove in both instances eagerly,—and I am thankful to add ineffectually,—to realise it. But there the matter ends. The only fact of interest, established by the correspondence in question, is one to which our attention has been already directed, and to which it will be again called hereafter,—the zealous efforts of The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts to secure the presence of a Bishop in one portion or another of the Colonial Church.

Letter of Clement Hall.

It appears, indeed, from a Letter to the Society, in 1748, from one of its most devoted and laborious Missionaries, Clement Hall, that a report was then prevalent, that a Bishop (who, to use his own words, was 'much wanted, and by all good men earnestly desired') was about to be sent over and settled in Virginia [41]. And he anxiously asks to be informed whether the report were true. But the absence of any definite answer upon the sub-

[40] Ib. xvi. 48.

[41] Hawkins, p. 81.

ject proves, that, if ground for the rumour had ever existed, it was soon removed; and that there still continued to prevail a perilous indifference to her spiritual wants, on the part of those who could alone supply them at home.

The Virginians unwilling to send their children to England for education.

It would have been some mitigation of the evils which Virginia suffered at this time, had her citizens been able to secure in England that education for their children, which could only be imperfectly given to them in their native province. But they were deterred from sending their children across the Atlantic for that purpose, through fear of the small-pox [42]. The comparative freedom from that scourge, which we experience in the present age, may possibly make it difficult for us to apprehend the reasonableness of such a fear. But its destroying power then defied and baffled every healing art, affected not only the general relations between England and her American Colonies, but sometimes rendered abortive the most earnest efforts which faithful men in both countries sought to make for the extension of their common faith.

Slaves. Their Baptism.

The system of Slavery in Virginia, of which I have already traced the origin and progress, had now become fixed and permanent; and continual importations from Africa caused it to spread through every quarter. Not fewer than 10,000 Africans were brought into Virginia in the reign of George I. alone. At the beginning of his reign, out of the 95,000 persons who formed the population of the Colony, 23,000 were Negroes [43]; and,

[42] Jones's Virginia, p. 45.

[43] Campbell's Virginia, pp. 108 and 125.

in 1756, when the population had reached 293,000, the Negroes amounted to 120,000. But in that, as in a former day, the Church of Virginia was careful to extend among the slave population the blessings of Christianity, With reference to her discharge of this duty in the preceding century, the Legislature had expressly asserted, that a participation in the spiritual privileges thereby conferred upon the slave, did not change in any respect his outward condition. The like proviso we find renewed in the same century; and an Act was passed, in October, 1705, which declared, 'That baptism of slaves doth not exempt them from bondage[44].'

It were needless to repeat in this place the remarks already made upon the first passing of such a law[45]. I would only point out the evidence supplied by the repetition of it to show, that, although she had no power to strike off his fetters from the slave, the Church of Virginia continued to do what she could to lighten their weight and rigour.

Servants and Convicts.

In addition to their slaves, three different kinds of white servants were employed by the Virginian Planters; some of whom were hired in the ordinary way; others, called 'kids,' were bound by indenture to serve four or five years; and the third class consisted of transported convicts, whose wild and violent conduct inflicted frequently upon their masters greater loss than their labour could yield them profit[46]; thus realising the evils which were to be looked for as the result of this system of punishment, when it was first introduced into the Colony[47], and the consequences of which have ever since

[44] Hening, iii. 460.
[45] Vol. ii. 344.
[46] Jones's Virginia, p. 49.
[47] Vol. i. 262.

received such melancholy illustration from the history of our penal settlements.

Whitefield's visit to Virginia in 1740.

The year 1740 is celebrated in the annals of Virginia for a visit paid to it by Whitefield. The aged Commissary Blair was still alive, and received him with unaffected kindness. The cords of union which, at his ordination, had bound Whitefield to our National Church were already loosening; and even the line of separation between him and Wesley was daily becoming more distinct and broad. But these circumstances, if Blair were cognizant of them, were not regarded by him as sufficient reasons for withholding from Whitefield the right hand of fellowship. Blair looked upon him still as a servant of the Church of England, and thankfully enlisted his unwearied energy and zeal in behalf of England's most ancient Colony. At his request, Whitefield preached in Williamsburg and other towns of the province[48]; and manifested there the same wonderful power over the hearts and consciences of his hearers, which had marked so signally the course of his ministry in England.

Presbyterian movement.

No small stir was made, about the same time, in Virginia, by the movements of other parties, whose success arose from causes which favoured the like work in the Mother-country; namely, the lukewarmness of many whose duty it was to discharge, without partiality or weariness, the obligations incumbent upon the National Church; the burning zeal of others who endeavoured, sometimes with good will, and at other times in the

[48] Davies's State of Religion, &c., quoted in Hawks's Narrative of the Protestant Episcopal Church in Virginia, p. 100.

spirit of envy and strife, to supply their deficiencies; and the rigour of the prohibitory statutes of the Legislature, which served but to make fiercer the opposition which it provoked.

Samuel Morris.

In some of the eastern outlying districts of Virginia, considerable numbers of Scotch and Irish Presbyterians had been for some time gradually brought together without exciting any attention. Between the years 1740 and 1743, many of the most zealous among them were accustomed to meet in the house of Samuel Morris, a man of singularly earnest and devoted spirit, that they might hear him read passages from his favourite books; such as Luther's Commentary on the Epistle to the Galatians, the Pilgrim's Progress, and Whitefield's Sermons. The number of his disciples soon increased, and the simple energy with which Morris strove to convey to their minds the impressions made upon his own, quickened their love towards him. A larger place of meeting was built, to which was given the name of 'Morris's Reading Room;' and other buildings were soon erected in different parts of the country, in which he or his deputies taught and exhorted the people by reading on Sundays, and sometimes on week-days, different passages from the same works. It does not appear that they observed any formal mode of public worship at first; for none thought themselves qualified to offer up what is called extempore prayer, and our own Prayer Book was not likely to find acceptance with them. In 1743, Robinson was sent by the Presbytery of Newcastle, in Delaware, to visit these assemblies of the followers of Morris; and, in conjunction with Roan and others, formally introduced among them the Confessions of Faith and

modes of worship recognised by the Presbyterian body. But the man most distinguished for the ability and zeal and eloquence, with which he organised and extended the operations of these assemblies, was Samuel Davies, who settled, in 1748, at a spot in Hanover County, about twelve miles from the Falls of James River; and, in spite of every opposition by the authorities of Virginia, pleaded in his own person the cause of his brethren, at the bar of the General Court, against Peyton Randolph the Attorney-General, and won for them the liberty of celebrating, without molestation, their religious services. The Governor, Sir William Gooch, had pointed out, in an address to the Grand Jury of the General Court, the danger which he apprehended from the spread of their opinions; and since it was held that the Toleration Act (1 W. & M.) did not extend to Virginia, the Statutes of her House of Assembly appeared amply sufficient to restrain the public profession of them. But Davies contended, that, if the Toleration Act did not apply to Virginia, neither did the Act of Uniformity,—a conclusion, which obviously would prove too much for his opponents. But there was no necessity for insisting upon this conclusion, for the provisions of the Toleration Act had been expressly recognised and adopted, in 1699, by the Virginian Assembly[49]. Standing, therefore, upon this strong ground of right, it was not difficult for the young champion of religious liberty,—for he was but twenty-four years old,—to achieve a signal triumph for his brethren; and he had the satisfaction of finding, when he afterwards visited England,

Samuel Davies.

[49] Hening, iii. 171.

that Sir Dudley Ryder, then Attorney-General, confirmed by his opinion the verdict of the Court at Williamsburg. It is gratifying to be enabled to add, that the conflict of opinion created by these proceedings was not embittered by personal animosity between the respective leaders. Davies himself admits the candour of Gooch's character; and from Dawson (who succeeded Blair in the offices of President of William and Mary College and of Commissary), as also from James Blair, a nephew of the latter, and a member of the General Court, Davies received great kindness, which he repaid with sincere affection. Davies became afterwards famous for the powerful eloquence with which he stirred up the hearts of the Virginians in the war against the French and Indians, when they were panic-stricken by the defeat and death of General Braddock, on the banks of the Monangahela, in 1755. This was the battle in which the celebrated George Washington gained the high renown which was the presage of his future career; and Davies, in a note to one of his sermons preached before the soldiers, speaks of him, in language singularly prophetic, as 'an heroic youth whom Providence hath preserved in so signal a manner for some important service to his country.' Davies died in 1761, at the early age of thirty-six, as President of Princeton College in New Jersey [50].

The labours of the two Morgans, father and son.

Whilst, in the eastern districts of Virginia, a race of men thus grew up, of resolute will and untiring energy, who looked with aversion upon the rites and ordinances

[50] Campbell's Virginia, 114—117; 123, 124, *note;* Hawks's Virginia, 101—110; Allen's American Biog. Dict, (Art. Davies.)

of her Church, and would gladly have effected her overthrow, there appeared, at the same time, on the other side of the mountains which separated its districts on the west, two men, father and son, who laboured in her service for many years with a diligence and success that have never been surpassed. A native of Wales, as his name Morgan Morgan testified, the father had originally settled in Pennsylvania; and thence, in 1726, removed to the south of the Potomac in Virginia, between the Blue Ridge and the North Mountain. In conjunction with Dr. Briscoe and Mr. Hite, he built, in 1740, the first Church in that extensive valley, which is said to be still standing, and known by the name of Mill Creek Church, in the Parish of Winchester. He lived to an advanced age, pursuing to the last a course of ardent and active piety which made him a light and a blessing to all within his influence. Under the direction also of the Clergyman, whether present or absent, Morgan fulfilled the duties of Lay-reader, which enabled him the more intimately to know their wants and cares, and to direct them, amid them all, along the path of duty. In the exercise of these duties, he was succeeded by a son, who prosecuted them with the same affectionate, diligent, and humble spirit. As the prospects of the Church in Virginia became more dark, her enemies more clamorous, her means of defence and progress more feeble, Morgan plied all the more strenuously every engine of usefulness placed at his command, and was still stedfast, still vigilant, still full of love and hope. Never intruding into offices not his own, he showed, that, in the Book of Common Prayer, the Church supplied her children with a guide that would never fail, because, from the cradle to the grave, its

own means of guidance were uniformly and faithfully drawn from the unerring Word of God. Thus regulating his own daily walk, and that of all classes of his brethren,—for, among the rich and poor he was alike acceptable,—by the light of that Word, he was, in a day of trouble and rebuke, a strength and comfort unto many; and the record of his name and work will long be gratefully remembered in the Valley of Virginia[51].

Serious dispute between the Clergy and the Law Courts, on the subject of stipend.

Our attention must now be directed to a dispute which sprang up between the Clergy of Virginia and the Law Courts, on the subject of stipend, and which ended in the utter discomfiture of the former. The annual salary of every Clergyman received into any Parish by the Vestry, had been fixed, as far back as the year 1696,—the same having been re-enacted with amendments down to 1748,—at 16,000 lbs. of tobacco, together with the cask in which it was packed. The Clergy had a right to demand, and usually received, their payment in tobacco, unless they chose to commute it at the market price, which at the ordinary rate of 2*d.* a pound, or 16*s.* 8*d.* a hundred, amounted to £133 a year. In 1755, in consequence of a failure of the tobacco crop, an Act was passed, enabling all persons, from whom any tobacco was due, to pay the amount, either in kind or in money, at the above rate of 2*d.* a pound. The Act,—which, in consequence of the price thus fixed, soon acquired the name of the Twopenny Act,—was not to continue in force longer than ten months, and was passed without the usual clause requiring the Royal assent before

[51] Episc. Recorder, Vol. i. No. 5, quoted in Hawks's Virg., 111—113.

it came into operation. Meanwhile, the price of tobacco, in consequence of its scarceness, varied from fifty to sixty shillings a hundred. The effect, therefore, of the Act, was to give to the rich Planters all the benefit of the extraordinary profit, whilst it allowed them to pay their debts, due for that article, at the old price, that is, two-thirds less than it was then worth. The Clergy, however, offered no resistance to the Act; but some of them petitioned the Legislature (apparently without any effect), in the same year, for an increase of stipend; urging the insufficiency of the amount hitherto received, their inability to increase it by following any secular employment, and the great discouragement thereby given to all who were anxious to give efficiency to the services of the Colonial Church. In 1758, came the fear of another failure of the tobacco crop; and, with it, the passing of a second relief Act, which differed from the former in respect only of the amount at which the value of the article was to be fixed, namely, 18*s.* instead of 16*s.* 8*d.* a hundred. The dreaded scarcity arrived; prices rose with it; and the Clergy could no longer be restrained from giving expression to their sense of the wrong done to them through the operation of the Act. The Rector of York Hampton Parish, Mr. John Camm, published an indignant pamphlet upon the subject. Replies and rejoinders followed; and the popular clamour, waxing strong against the Clergy, became so formidable, that Camm was compelled to resort to Maryland, to find a publisher for his writings. Finding no redress in the province, the Clergy appealed, through their Commissary, Mr. Robinson, to the Bishop of London and the Board of Trade at home, and afterwards, with the concurrence and support of that prelate, to the King and

Council. Their appeal was successful. The Act of 1758 was declared to be an usurpation of the authority of the Crown, and utterly null and void. With this decision to support them, the Clergy resolved to bring the question to an issue in the Provincial Courts; and

Suit instituted by Rev. James Maury.

the Rev. James Maury, in the County of Hanover, instituted a suit for the recovery of his stipend in tobacco, under the old Act of 1748, against the collector of that district and his sureties. The case was argued in November Term, 1763; and the Court gave judgment in favour of Maury; thereby overthrowing the authority of the Act of 1758, so obnoxious to the Clergy, and confirming the decision of the King and Council at home. It was a judgment, however, most unwelcome to the mass of the inhabitants of the Colony; and the Court is entitled to no little credit for the firmness with which, in obedience to the law, it opposed the stream of popular displeasure. The only point which now remained for a jury to determine was the amount of damages sustained by the plaintiff; and, after what had taken place, a verdict, regulating the amount according to the Act of 1748, seemed inevitable. Lewis, the counsel for the defendants, accordingly refrained from any further pleading. But the defendants would not give up their case. They sought out another advocate, Patrick Henry, who undertook to argue it in the ensuing Term. The whole aspect of affairs was immediately changed, and an impulse given to the course of public opinion, of which the effects may be distinctly traced through every stage of the subsequent Revolutionary struggle.

Patrick Henry,

The previous life of Patrick Henry had been wayward and unpromising. His

father, who was connected with the family of Robertson the historian, had emigrated to Virginia, from Scotland, at the beginning of the 18th century; and Patrick, the second of nine children, was born at Studley, in Hanover County, in 1736. He had been placed, whilst a boy, in a merchant's store; but his indolence and carelessness, and love of music and of sports, wholly incapacitated him for its duties, and forced him, within a short time, to retire from it with a loss. He then married, at the age of eighteen, and tried to gain a livelihood by the cultivation of a small farm, digging the ground with his own hands. But the life of a farmer quickly proved as distasteful to him as had been that of a merchant; and, bankrupt in fortune and prospects, he resolved to make trial of the law. With great difficulty he obtained, when he was twenty-four years old, the required licence to practise as an advocate; and, for three years afterwards, remained without a brief, suffering the severest privations and cares of poverty. But his reputation for courage and wit and eloquence had won for him, among his countrymen, an influence so great, that he was chosen, at the present crisis, to defend the important cause which an experienced counsel had given up as hopeless. Multitudes of eager listeners came from all parts of Virginia, crowding the yard and court-house in which the trial was held; and others, unable to gain admission, clambered up to the windows, that they might see or hear what they could of the conflict which stirred all hearts. Twenty Clergymen occupied the bench; and the presiding magistrate was the father of Henry himself. Upon rising to reply to the plaintiff's counsel, his manner was hesitating and embarrassed; and, had the Court

counsel for the defendants.

insisted upon his confining his address to the only question then before it, he would, probably, not have been able to escape from the difficulties of his position. But he speedily forgot them all, in the wider field of argument and invective which he was allowed to traverse; touching upon every topic, howsoever irrelevant, which was calculated to excite and inflame the passions of the jury; asserting the power of the Provincial Legislature to act as it thought best for the safety of the Colony; denouncing as intolerable the prohibitory decision of the Council at home: and declaring the King, by whose authority such a decision was proclaimed and enforced, to be, not the father, but the tyrant, of his people. In vain the plaintiff's counsel interposed, asserting that such language was treason. The intrepid orator went onward, gathering fresh strength at every step of his impetuous course. The jury and the whole audience seemed spell-bound by his magic power. His father sat weeping for joy and wonder as he listened to him. The Clergy, indignant and amazed, withdrew in confusion from the bench, and the verdict of a penny damages quickly proclaimed the greatness of their defeat. Their counsel, indeed, still remembered his duty, and sought leave for a new trial; but the Court, sharing for a moment the enthusiasm of all around, unanimously refused it. The people shouted for joy, as they heard the refusal; and lifting up Henry in their arms, in spite of his resistance, and calls of order from the Court, carried him in triumph to receive the renewed plaudits of the eager and exulting multitudes without [52].

Defeat of the Clergy.

[52] Wirt's Life of Henry, pp. 37—47; Hawks's Virginia, 117—124; Campbell's Virginia, 129—131.

It is not easy to estimate too highly the amount of adverse influences excited against the Clergy, and, in their persons, against the whole Church of Virginia, by these proceedings. The essential justice of their cause, indeed, few persons now deny. Dr. Hawks, himself a minister and prelate of the Church, of which he is the well-known chronicler, describes the verdict obtained by Henry's pleading as 'the triumph of wrong over right.' The like admission is made by others, who cannot be suspected of sympathy with the Virginia Clergy. The biographer and eulogist of Patrick Henry, speaking of the war of pamphlets which preceded the trial at law, says 'it is impossible to deny, at this day, that the Clergy had much the best of the argument.' He describes also the judgment of the Court in favour of Maury, confirming the decision of the King and Council, and overthrowing the authority of the Act of 1758, as one which reflected honour upon its members. Grahame likewise awards the superiority of argument in this controversy to the Clergy; and Campbell admits, that, whatsoever justification for the passing of that Act might, in the first instance, have been derived from the plea of necessity, yet its subsequent abolition by the decision of the King and Council made it impossible for the claim of the Clergy to be defeated by any other means than 'by a sort of revolutionary recurrence to fundamental principles, by an abnegation of the regal authority, and an exertion of popular sovereignty [53].'

Consequences thereof.

Nothing less, in fact, than this, was in- A Revolu-

[53] Hawks's Virginia, p. 125; Wirt's Life of Henry, p. 41; Grahame's United States, iv. 96; Campbell's Virginia, p. 131.

tionary spirit fostered.

volved in the issue of the present trial. It antedated the American Revolution. Howsoever different the disputes which, in a few years afterwards, brought about that event, there can be no doubt that the spirit, which carried the American Colonies triumphantly through them all, was the spirit evoked by Patrick Henry in the court-house of Hanover County. To himself, the immediate effect was that of teaching him to look upon every act of England with feelings of jealousy, whilst he directed all his energies to defend the Colony of which he had denounced her the oppressor. He found, in the hearts of his countrymen, a willing and partial audience. Their plaudits, which had celebrated his first great victory in their behalf, stimulated him to fresh conflicts. He became emphatically the man of the people, their oracle, their guide, their idol. Their suffrages speedily gained for him a place in the Legislative Assembly of Virginia; and not less speedily did he stand forth as the distinguished champion of its liberties. The obnoxious policy of Great Britain,—which first enforced restrictions upon the trade of America, and, then, under the administration of George Grenville, introduced into her provinces the Stamp Act,—found, in the resolutions of the Virginia Assembly, and, in Patrick Henry their mover, its earliest and most determined opponents. The Act declared all documents used in the business of the Colony to be null and void, unless executed upon paper or parchment bearing a stamp, with duty charged upon it, imposed and regulated by the British Parliament. The right was herein directly assumed by the Mother-country to tax her Colonies, whether they consented or not. This

Political influence of Henry.

right, Henry's resolutions explicitly denied; and declared it to be solely and exclusively vested in the General Assembly of the Province, and the representatives of the Crown who were associated with them in its government. His speech upon that occasion, May 29th, 1765, within two years from the date of his first triumph as an advocate, is memorable for its boldness and dexterity. 'Cæsar,' he exclaimed, 'had his Brutus, Charles the First his Cromwell, and George the Third'—'Treason,' cried out the Speaker, 'Treason,' was the echoing shout repeated in every quarter of the house; but Henry, standing unmoved, and with voice unfaltering, ended the sentence with these emphatic words,—'may profit by their example. If this be treason, make the most of it[54].'

Leaving to the general historian the task of relating the further effects of Henry's influence over the minds of his countrymen in the struggle that was at hand,—influence, which Byron has described, in his Age of Bronze, as that of

> the forest-born Demosthenes,
> Whose thunder shook the Philip of the seas,—

I seek only to trace the consequences which befell the Church of Virginia through the victory gained by him over her Clergy. The absence of any authentic report of his speech in Maury's case, prevents us from ascertaining whether it contained arguments against the doctrines or discipline of the Church of which Maury was an ordained minister. The opportunity of employing such arguments must frequently have recurred to Patrick Henry, amid the many exciting

[54] Allen's Amer. Biog. Dict., and Wirt's Life of Henry, *in loc.*; Campbell's Virginia, p. 135; Grahame's United States, iv. 203.

topics embraced in his address; the unpopularity of the Clergy, then prevalent, would have made them welcome to the mass of his audience; and his love for Presbyterian teaching, would have imparted to them strength and spirit. The father of Henry, indeed, was a zealous member of the Church; and his uncle Patrick was, for a short time, Rector of St. George's Parish, in the County of Spotsylvania, and afterwards of St. Paul's Church in Hanover County [55]. But all the accounts which have reached us respecting himself state, that, when he was a boy, he used to drive his mother to the different places where it was known that the celebrated Presbyterian, Samuel Davies, was to preach; and that, for many years afterwards, he was accustomed to attend his ministry, expressing always the highest admiration of his eloquence, and ascribing whatsoever success waited upon his own efforts, to the example and influence of that extraordinary man [56]. The traces of such influence could hardly fail to have appeared upon an occasion so likely to elicit them as that which first brought Patrick Henry into notice. Whatsoever may have been his arguments, it is certain that the Clergy, as a body, never recovered the blow which his victory inflicted upon them. The zeal and piety of individual men might still have retained, in certain districts, respect and affection for the Church whose teaching they illustrated so well; but contempt, reproach, and ridicule, were the burden which most of them had henceforth to bear. Their name became a by-word throughout the Colony. 'The Parsons' Cause,' as it

Diminished influence of the Clergy.

[55] Slaughter's History of St. George's Parish, pp. 17—19; Campbell's Virginia, p. 132.

[56] See p. 133, *ante*; Campbell's Virginia, p. 133.

was called, was regarded as a glorious epoch in its history; and, as often as any successful display was made of eloquence, the people could bestow upon the speaker no higher praise than to say, 'He is almost equal to Patrick, when he pleaded against the Parsons.' No attempt was made by the Clergy to appeal against the verdict in Maury's case, or to counteract its effect by bringing any other case to trial. The Assembly entered into an engagement to defend all suits which might be so prosecuted; and, with the public treasury arrayed against them, the Clergy justly accounted all further resistance to be vain[57].

Low state of morals in Virginia.

Other influences were now also felt in the Colony, springing, indeed, from different sources, but alike testifying the past negligence of the Church, and hindering the course of her future ministrations. The laxity of opinion and of practice, prevalent in the Mother-country, was reproduced, in forms (if possible) more revolting in Virginia, her first-born offspring. Her wealthy planters became notorious for their indulgence of dissolute and idle habits, and passed most of their time in drinking and card-playing, at horse-races and cock-fights. Their slaves and servants, and other classes of the population, were not slow to copy the example thus daily placed before their eyes; and the spirit of a brutal debauchery spread like a plague among them[58].

Increase of Dissent.

These excesses were followed, in due time, by their corresponding reaction. As Methodism at home gathered life and strength from

[57] Hawks's Virginia, p. 125.

[58] Davies's Sermons, quoted in Campbell's Virginia, p. 125; and Davies's State of Religion among Dissenters, &c., quoted in Hawks's Virginia, p. 101.

the evils which had before been suffered to abound, so, on the other side of the Atlantic, the like process, quickened by the erroneous policy and partial legislation of many years, which I have so frequently noticed, gave birth to like divisions and discomfiture in the Church which had been there planted. Hence, the successful energy imparted to the Presbyterian movement in Virginia under Davies. Hence,

The Baptists.

the intrusion and rapid increase of the Baptists, whose teaching, however weakened by divisions in their own body, was there distinguished, as it had been in the Mother-country, by the bitterness of its hostility towards the Church. The attempts of the Virginia Legislature to restrain the progress of the Baptists by fine, and scourging, and imprisonment, served but to make this bitterness, at the present crisis, more intense; and the disastrous issue of the Parsons' Cause, occurring at the same time, depressed the spirit of the vanquished party, and gave fresh hope and courage to their uncompromising assailants [59]. Other Separatists soon joined the Baptists in their attacks; and so numerous were they, that one of the most celebrated of the Virginia Clergy acknowledges, in a Sermon preached by him at St. Mary's Church, in Caroline County, in 1771, that he 'might almost as well pretend to count the gnats that buzz around us in a summer's evening [60].'

Policy of Great Britain towards the American Colonies.

Meanwhile, the measures of the British Government were fast weakening the affection, and arousing the animosity, of the American Colonies. Virginia, we

[59] Semple's History of Virginia Baptists, quoted in Hawks's Virginia, p. 121.

[60] Boucher's Discourses, p. 100.

have seen, was the first to assume an attitude of resistance; and the temporal institutions of her Church were the first to be swept away in the tempest of strife that burst forth. Time had been, when Virginia was conspicuous for her attachment to the Church and Throne of England, and for the courage with which she avowed that attachment, in the moment of their overthrow. The strong grasp of Cromwell had, indeed, been laid upon her; but his mastery never was complete. Through all the days of the Commonwealth rule, she was still the stronghold of the Royalists. The majority of her people, in spite of threatening and condemning ordinances, still retained the teaching of the Church. And, long before the Restoration was effected, she had anticipated, and was prepared to welcome, that event[61]. Again, in 1746, when the safety of the Church and Throne of England were once more endangered by the rebellion of the preceding year, her Clergy were convened by Dawson, the Commissary, and forwarded through Gibson, then Bishop of London, a loyal and affectionate address to the King. The Governor, at the same time, issued his proclamation against certain Romish Priests from Maryland, who, it was reported, 'were labouring to turn away the people of Virginia from their allegiance to King George[62].'

Altered feelings of Virginia towards her, in consequence

But a change was now fast spreading in the minds both of the Laity and Clergy of Virginia. The Stamp Act called forth not merely the startling words of Patrick Henry, but feelings of disaffection and deeds of violence, in every quarter. The stamps were burned.

[61] Vol. ii. 23—26.

[62] Hawks's Virginia, p. 110.

The officers charged with the imposition of them were insulted and beaten. The channels of trade between England and her Colonies were stopped up, and a Congress was summoned at New York, to concert measures of defence against her alleged tyranny. For a time she paused. The Stamp Act was nobly repealed, under the administration of Rockingham, a few months after its introduction; and the voices of the first William Pitt, then for the last time, and of Edmund Burke, then for the first time, heard in the House of Commons, were lifted up in defence of this healing measure. But fresh provocations followed. In 1767, when the Duke of Grafton was minister, an Act was passed by the British Parliament, levying duties in the American Colonies on tea, paper, painted glass, and other articles. The Colonists would not endure them. At Boston and New York, in 1773, the people broke out in riotous tumult, destroying and casting into the sea hundreds of chests of tea which had arrived there from England; and, for this, they were visited the next year, under the ministry of Lord North, with a Bill called the Boston Port Bill, by which that port was to be shut up until satisfaction should be made to the E. I. Company for the tea that had been destroyed. And so the miserable work of injustice, irritation, and strife, went forward.

Norborne Berkeley, Baron Botetourt, Governor.

The one solitary exception, as far as I can find, which, in the case of Virginia, might have held out some hope of a return to better feelings, was that afforded in the brief government of Norborne Berkeley. He was possessor of the noble estate of Stoke Gifford in Gloucestershire; had represented his native county in Parliament; and been long distinguished for his zeal and

energy as a public servant. His name holds a conspicuous place in the records of the county; and, in the Board Room of the Gloucester Infirmary, it may be yet seen at the head of the founders of that Institution. In 1764, having established his claim to the ancient Barony of Botetourt, which had been in abeyance ever since the 9th year of Richard II., he received a writ of summons to the House of Lords. And, in 1768, having succeeded Amherst as Governor-in-Chief, he went out to discharge in person the duties of that office, being the first, since Lord Culpepper, who had not entrusted them to a deputy.

His equitable administration.

The pomp and ceremony of his first appearance, upon opening the House of Assembly, offended the feelings of the spectators. A handsome building had been erected at Williamsburg, for the meetings of the Assembly, in the time of Nicholson, which he had dignified with the name of the Capitol[63]. To this Capitol, Lord Botetourt, sitting in a state coach which George III. had given to him, was drawn by six milk-white horses, surrounded with all the dazzling insignia of his high office. The temper of the people, at that moment, could ill brook such a display of vice-regal authority; and resolutions, passed soon afterwards by the House, reiterating its determination to vindicate certain rights of the Colony, which the proceedings of the Crown and Parliament then threatened to invade, showed how eager the Virginians were to give instant and strong expression to their irritated feelings. Botetourt forthwith dissolved the Assembly; a step which, if it had been taken in a haughty spirit, or followed up by an

[63] Holmes's American Annals, ii. 33.

intolerant course of government, would have led to still further irritation. But Botetourt was a man of equitable and candid mind. He saw where the real difficulties lay in the controversies which had sprung up between England and her North American Colonies, and applied all his energies to the solution of them. He had soon the satisfaction of convening and announcing to the Assembly the assurance which he had received from the Earl of Hillsborough, then Secretary of State for the Colonies, that the Government at home would not impose any further taxes upon them, and would repeal the duties on glass and paper and paints, regarding them as indefensible. He added his own conviction of the justice of such a proceeding, 'being content (to use his own words) to be declared infamous, if he did not to the last hour of his life, at all times, in all places, and upon all occasions, exert every power with which he was, or ever should be, legally invested, in order to obtain and maintain for the continent of America that satisfaction which he had been authorised to promise that day by the confidential servant of his gracious sovereign.' To this communication an answer was returned by the House, expressing in the strongest terms its loyal gratitude and confidence. And there is little reason to doubt, that, had the spirit then manifested by Botetourt been allowed to prevail in England, the growing discontent and disaffection of her Colonies might even then have been stayed. But an opposite spirit prevailed. The conciliatory and righteous policy which Botetourt announced to the Virginians, and which his own strong representations to the Home Government had mainly induced, was soon reversed. He had the mortification of finding

His disappointment and death.

his hopes deceived, and the promises, which he had held out to that and other Provinces of America, falsified. The blow was greater than he could bear. His bodily strength gave way; and, after an administration of two eventful years, Botetourt died, amid the lamentations of the people whose rights he had attempted in vain to vindicate. A statue, erected to his memory by the Assembly, still stands in front of William and Mary College, witnessing the love borne to him by the whole Colony, and the support which he always rejoiced to give to that important Institution[64].

Refusal of some of her Clergy to co-operate in the establishment of an American Episcopacy.

The hated measures of the British Government, which Botetourt had been unable to avert, gradually engendered a suspicion and mistrust of the persons from whose authority they emanated. From the persons of the rulers, these feelings were gradually extended to the offices borne by them. And, since the ecclesiastical and civil institutions of the Mother-country were regarded as one and indivisible, it followed that the office and name of Bishop soon lost favour in the sight of those who were losing reverence and affection for their King. This process was remarkably illustrated in the case of Virginia. It had been the saying of King James, at the Hampton Court Conference, 'No Bishop, no King[65].' The citizens of Virginia seem to have had the same proposition present to their minds, in the crisis through which they were now passing; and,

[64] Campbell's Virginia, 140. Lord Botetourt died unmarried; and his sister Elizabeth, who inherited the Barony, had married the fourth Duke of Beaufort, to whose descendants the title and property have now descended. Collins's Peerage, i. 241; ix. 436.

[65] Fuller's Church History, B. x. p. 12.

although the order of its terms was reversed, they evidently regarded as unchanged the close relation between them, and had no difficulty in arriving at the conclusion, 'No King, no Bishop.' They forthwith acted upon this conclusion; and, in 1771, the year after the death of Lord Botetourt, refused to co-operate with the Northern Colonies in their endeavour to obtain the presence of a Bishop in America. The Clergy of New York and New Jersey, who were then very desirous of accomplishing this object which had been so often sought after, sent a deputation to their brethren in the south to secure their help. A meeting of the Virginia Clergy was accordingly summoned at William and Mary College, by Camm, who was now Commissary. But, although there were more than an hundred Churches at that time in Virginia, and most of them supplied with ministers, so few attended, that it was thought desirable to convene another meeting some weeks later. At the second meeting, a still smaller number, not more than twelve, appeared. They hesitated at first to declare themselves a Convention of the Virginia Clergy; but, after some discussion, having resolved that they might do so, they proceeded to consider the proposal, that they should address the King, praying for the appointment of a Bishop in America. This proposal they rejected; and adopted, in its stead, an address to the Bishop of London, seeking for his counsel and advice. There seems to have been great want of order in their proceedings; for, before they separated, they reversed their former resolution, and drew up an address to the King. Upon this, two of them, Henly and Gwatkin, who were Professors in the College, entered a formal protest, in which they were afterwards joined by two

others, Hewitt and Bland; and, from the terms and result of this protest, may be gathered proof of what I have said above as to the altered feelings of the Colony. Some of the reasons set forth in it relate only to the insufficient number of those who composed the meeting; the informality of their proceedings; and the slur which, they alleged, would be cast upon the Bishop of London, by attempting to deprive him of a part of his jurisdiction, without waiting for the advice which they had professed themselves desirous to obtain. But other reasons touch upon much graver points; asserting that the establishment of an American Episcopate, at that time, would tend greatly to weaken the connexion between the Mother-country and her Colonies; continue their present unhappy disputes; infuse jealousies and fears into the minds of Protestant dissenters; and give ill-disposed persons occasion to raise such disturbances as might endanger the very existence of the British Empire in America.

Their conduct approved of by the House of Burgesses.

These reasons were re-echoed by the Lower House of Burgesses, who afterwards discussed the same matter, and resolved unanimously that the thanks of the House should be given

To the Rev. Mr. Henly, the Rev. Mr. Gwatkin, the Rev. Mr. Hewitt, and the Rev. Mr. Bland, for the wise and well-timed opposition they have made to the pernicious project of a few mistaken Clergymen, for introducing an American Bishop; a measure by which much disturbance, great anxiety, and apprehension would certainly take place among His Majesty's faithful American subjects; and that Mr. Richard Henry Lee and Mr. Bland do acquaint them therewith.

The members of the House which passed this resolution, were, with few exceptions, members of the Vir-

ginia Church; and one of them, Henry Lee, was fifteen years afterwards, as President of the Congress, instrumental in bringing about the consecration of Bishops White and Provoost, and the first to declare the perfect consistency of their office with the civil institutions of the United States[66]. The fact of such consistency, no person will now gainsay. And that it should not only not have been acknowledged, but the expression of it, in the present instance, actually resisted, by all the leading Lay-members of the Church, and by some of the most distinguished Clergy, can only be accounted for by the fierceness of political conflict into which they had already plunged, and which disturbed the judgment and inflamed the passions of all classes.

Rev. Jonathan Boucher.

The refusal of Virginia to co-operate with the Northern Colonies in obtaining an American Episcopate, led to a long war of pamphlets, upon both sides, which it were needless to revive. But there was one man, who then avowed his sentiments upon this and other like questions, ably and resolutely, from his pulpit, in Virginia, and afterwards published them in a connected form in this country, whose high character demands a longer notice than I am here able to give. I allude to Jonathan Boucher, who was born in Cumberland in 1738, and brought up at Wigton Grammar School. He went to Virginia, at the age of sixteen, and was nominated by the Vestry of Hanover Parish, in the County of King George, to its Rectory, before he was in orders.

[66] Hawks's Virginia, 125—130, and the references made therein to the Journals of the United Convention of 1767, 32—35; Seabury MSS.; Burk's Virginia, iii. 364; Bp. White's Memoirs &c., 51, 52.

He returned to England for ordination; and, after he had re-crossed the Atlantic a second time, entered upon the duties of that Parish, upon the banks of the Rappahanock. He removed soon afterwards to St. Mary's Parish, in Caroline County, upon the same river, where he enjoyed the fullest confidence and love of his people. In the second of two Sermons preached by him, upon the question of the American Episcopate, in that Parish, and in the year (1771) in which it had been so strongly agitated, he expresses his assurance that he would be 'listened to with candour,' by his parishioners, seeing that he had 'lived among them more than seven years, as' their 'minister, in such harmony as to have had no disagreement with any man even for a day.' The terms of this testimony, and the circumstances under which it was delivered, leave no room to doubt its truthfulness. He was accounted one of the best preachers of his time; and the vigorous and lucid reasoning of his published Discourses, sustains the justice of that reputation. From St. Mary's Parish, Boucher went to Maryland, where he was appointed by Governor Eden to the Rectory of St. Anne's, in Annapolis; and, afterwards, of Queen Anne's, in Prince George's County. From the latter Parish, he was ejected at the Revolution [67].

His Discourses. His Discourses, preached between the years 1763 and 1775, were published by him, when he was Vicar of Epsom, in Surrey, in 1797, fifteen years after the formal recognition by England of the Independence of the United States. They contain, with an historical preface, his 'View of the causes

[67] Boucher's Discourses, Preface, p. xc. and p. 118; Allen's Amer. Biog. Dict. (Art. Boucher.)

and consequences of the American Revolution,' and are dedicated to Washington; not because of any concord of political sentiment between him and the writer, —in this respect they had been, and still were, wide as the poles asunder,—but to express the hope of Boucher, that the offering which he thus made of renewed respect and affection for that great man, himself a native of Virginia, and 'once his neighbour and his friend,' might be received and regarded as giving some promise of that perfect reconciliation between their two countries, which it was the sincere aim of his publication to promote. Whilst the language of this Dedication attests the candour and generosity of Boucher's character, his courage and hatred of every thing that savoured of Republicanism are displayed not less clearly throughout the whole body of his work. The only faults which, in the course of his historical preface, he can detect on the part of England, before and during the war which had deprived her of thirteen Colonies, was the feebleness of her ministers at home and of her generals abroad. The positive injustice of many of her acts seems never present to his mind. The arguments of Burke and Chatham, exposing that injustice, weigh with him as nothing. He asserts that there was no difference whatsoever between the American Revolution and the French; that the condemnation, passed by Burke upon the latter, would have applied with equal force to the former; and that he ought so to have applied them. With such sentiments upon the general question of the disputes between England and her Colonies, and with such bold resolutions in avowing them, in spite of their acknowledged unpopularity, we may easily conjecture the course likely to be pur-

His anti-republican sentiments.

sued by Boucher, with respect to the particular points of dispute related in the foregoing pages. Accordingly, in his Sermons already alluded to on the American Episcopate, he speaks in severe terms of the protest of the four Clergymen, and of the resolution of the House of Burgesses approving it[68]; and argues that the consequences of such acts would be to prolong the injustice so long suffered by the Colonial Church, and to increase the number and strength of the evils by which she was oppressed[69]. It was, in fact, nothing

[68] According to Boucher's statement, 'it was carried in a thin house, carried by surprise.' Discourses, p. 96.

[69] It is remarkable, that, whilst Boucher was pursuing this line of argument, it should have been pursued and re-echoed almost to the very letter by Lowth, then Bishop of Oxford, in his Anniversary Sermon before The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts. Speaking of the evils suffered by the Colonial Church, he says, 'The proper and only remedy hath long since been pointed out, the appointment of one or more resident Bishops for the exercise of offices purely episcopal in the American Church of England; for administering the solemn and edifying rite of confirmation; for ordaining ministers, and superintending their conduct; offices, to which the members of the Church of England have an undoubted claim, and from which they cannot be precluded without manifest injustice and oppression. The design hath been laid before the public in the most unexceptionable form; it hath been supported against every objection, which unreasonable and indecent opposition hath raised, by arguments unanswered and unanswerable; unless groundless fears, invidious surmises, injurious suspicions; unless absurd demands of needless and impracticable securities against dangers altogether imaginary and improbable, are to set aside undoubted rights, founded upon the plainest maxims of religious liberty; upon the common claim of mutual toleration, that favourite but abused principle, the glory and disgrace of Protestantism, which all are forward enough to profess, but few steadily practise; and which those who claim it in the fullest extent for themselves, are sometimes least of all inclined to indulge in any degree to others.'

less than to 'unchurch the Church.' He traces the groundwork of the opposition, which had thus been directed against a measure in itself so just and reasonable, to causes which had been in operation long before. Among others, he alludes to the spirit which had been evoked in Maury's case, and to its disastrous consequences. I quote a short passage from this part of the Discourse, because it confirms very strongly what I have before said upon the same subject:

> A few years ago, it was the misfortune of the Clergy of this Colony to have a dispute with its Laity. You will readily recollect that I allude to the Act of Assembly which was called the Two-penny Act[70]. Of this Act (anxious as I am not to repeat grievances) suffice it to say, that, on the final decision of the dispute, the Assembly was found to have done, and the Clergy to have suffered, wrong. The aggrieved may, and, we hope, often do, forgive; but it has been observed that aggressors very rarely forgive. Ever since this controversy, your Clergy have experienced every kind of discourtesy and discouragement. It is allowed, that the Church is still in great want of the public countenance and encouragement; yet, so far are we permitted to look up to you as the patrons and protectors of piety and learning, that we are threatened to be reduced to an humble dependence on popular authority and popular caprice[71].

His remarks on Slavery.

Boucher's remarks on Slavery are important. Whilst he expresses his deep abhorrence of the system, he acknowledges that its lawfulness had been often supported by cogent arguments, and that the administration of it in Virginia was, for the most part, distinguished by humanity. He omits, however, no opportunity of urging upon the Planters with whom he was directly associated, the duty of preparing the way for its ultimate abolition, and, in the mean time, to mitigate its evils by the

[70] See p. 136, *ante*.

[71] Boucher's Discourses, p. 99.

help of Christian teaching. He dwells, with especial earnestness, upon this duty, in one of his best Discourses, preached at the Upper Church, and at Bray's, in Leeds Town, in Hanover Parish, on the occasion of the general peace, in 1763. I subjoin two short passages:

The united motives of interest and humanity call on us to bestow some consideration on the case of those sad outcasts of society, our negro slaves; for my heart would smite me, were I not, in this hour of prosperity, to entreat you, (it being their unparalleled hard lot not to have the power of entreating for themselves,) to permit them to participate in the general joy. Even those who are the sufferers can hardly be sorry, when they see wrong measures carrying their punishment along with them. Were an impartial and competent observer of the state of society in these middle Colonies asked, whence it happens that Virginia and Maryland (which were the first planted, and which are superior to many Colonies, and inferior to none, in point of natural advantage) are still so exceedingly behind most of the other British transatlantic possessions, in all those improvements which bring credit and consequence to a country, he would answer, 'They are so, because they are cultivated by slaves.' I believe it is capable of demonstration, that, except the immediate interest which every man has in the property of his slaves, it would be for every man's interest that there were no slaves; and for this plain reason, because the free labour of a free man, who is regularly hired and paid for the work he does, and only for what he does, is, in the end, cheaper than the eye-service of a slave. Some loss and inconvenience would, no doubt, arise from the general abolition of slavery in these colonies; but, were it done gradually, with judgment, and with good temper, I have never yet seen it satisfactorily proved that such inconvenience would either be great or lasting. North American or West Indian planters might, possibly, for a few years, make less tobacco, or less rice, or less sugar, the raising of which might also cost them more; but that disadvantage would, probably, soon be amply compensated to them by an advanced price, or (what is the same thing) by the reduced expense of cultivation.

Again:

I do you no more than justice in bearing witness, that in no part

of the world were slaves ever better treated than, in general, they are in these colonies. That there are exceptions, needs not to be concealed; in all countries there are bad men. And shame be to those men who, though themselves blessed with freedom, have minds less liberal than the poor creatures over whom they so meanly tyrannize! Even your humanity, however, falls short of their exigencies. In one essential point, I fear, we are all deficient—they are no where sufficiently instructed. I am far from recommending it to you at once to set them all free, because to do so would be an heavy loss to you, and, probably, no gain to them; but I do entreat you to make them some amends for the drudgery of their bodies, by cultivating their minds. By such means only can we hope to fulfil the ends which, we may be permitted to believe, Providence had in view in suffering them to be brought among us. You may unfetter them from *the chains of ignorance;* you may emancipate them from *the bondage of sin*, the worst slavery to which they can be subjected; and, by thus *setting at liberty those that are bruised*, though they still continue to be your slaves, they shall be *delivered from the bondage of corruption into the glorious liberty of the children of God*[72].

Conduct of the Methodists in 1772.

The history of the Church in Maryland, in the next chapter, will again exhibit the frankness, courage, and ability, of Jonathan Boucher. Confining our attention at present to Virginia, and to those civil and religious dissensions among her people, which have here led to the introduction of his name, I may remark, that, about the year 1772, three years before those dissensions broke out into actual war between England and her offspring Colonies, upon the plains of Lexington, the followers of Wesley appeared in considerable numbers in Virginia. They still retained and avowed that attachment to the National Church, which Wesley, her ordained minister, had, in the early years of his course, uniformly professed. And, although they delegated to Laymen

[72] Ib. 38—42.

the office of preaching, they never allowed them to assume authority to administer the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, but received it with them at the hands only of the Clergy. So earnest were they at that time in upholding the authority of the Church, that they affirmed, that 'whosoever left the Church left the Methodists.' For this cause, a share of the odium with which the Virginia Church was now visited fell upon them; and they were even suspected of hostility to the interests of Virginia, and those of the other Colonies which were engaged with herself in the struggle against England [73].

The Rev. Devereux Jarratt.

The simple and sincere devotion of these early Methodists in Virginia made deep impressions upon the minds of many, especially upon Devereux Jarratt, who, at that time and for many years afterwards, was "a burning and shining light" in the ranks of her Clergy. He was born in 1732, in the county of New Kent, about twenty-five miles below Richmond, the present capital of Virginia; and passed his boyhood and youth, in his native village, at his father's trade of a carpenter, and at the plough. He also acquired a little book-learning, which gained for him reputation enough to lead him from his first pursuits, and to establish a school in the then frontier county of Albemarle. In this occupation he continued for some years, boarding in different houses, and gathering together as he could the few scholars who were willing to come to him for instruction. The landlady of one of the houses in which he lodged was a Presbyterian, of earnest piety, whose practice was to

His early life.

[73] Hawks's Virginia, 131—134.

read every night to the inmates a portion of Flavel's Sermons. The careless and ungodly life which Jarratt had led in former years, made any exercises of this kind distasteful to him; and a hypocritical desire to gain the favour of those upon whom he was then dependent, was at first his only motive in attending them. But serious thoughts were gradually awakening within him; the perilous condition of his soul, the necessity of finding some saving help, and the belief that in Holy Scripture alone it could be found, became strong and abiding convictions with him. He was anxious to find out the meaning of the words of Scripture; and, having neither books nor money, borrowed such works as he thought might assist him. At length he heard that a gentleman, who lived five or six miles distant across the river, had a very large book, which explained the whole of the New Testament. Jarratt repaired forthwith to his house; asked the loan of it, which was granted; and, taking up the folio in his arms,—it was the valuable Commentary of Burkitt,—brought it home, and eagerly applied himself to its perusal during every spare hour of the day. In the evening, having no candle, he used to sit down upon the hearth, and place the folio against the end of a chest which stood near, and read, by the light of the fire, until midnight. In this way, he acquired considerable knowledge of Scripture; and a stricter course of life testified its controuling influence upon his heart and mind. He acknowledges, indeed, that his course was sometimes checked by a return to the companionships and amusements of former days; but from these he was again enabled to escape, and to pursue what appeared to be the fixed bent and tenor of his mind.

Early association with Presbyterianism.

At this time, Jarratt might justly have been considered a Presbyterian. The books which he read, the public worship which he attended, and the society in which he lived, all witnessed his sympathy and intimate union with Presbyterians. Of the Church of England, he professes not to have known any thing. He had never enquired into her principles; and the prejudices which he had imbibed from the careless lives and defective preaching of some of her Clergy in Virginia, had taken from him all desire to do so. His friends were anxious that he should enter the ranks of the Presbyterian ministry; a step, which his utter ignorance of Latin and Greek alone prevented him from taking at that time. But this impediment was soon removed by the opportunity of entering, without any expense to himself, a school kept by Alexander Martin, who, after the Revolution, was elected Governor of North Carolina and a member of Congress. Jarratt availed himself of the help thus offered, with a diligence and success almost incredible. He was then in his twenty-sixth year, and had never learnt even the rudiments of grammar; but, within a few months, was able to read with accuracy works of the most difficult Latin authors.

Enters afterwards into Holy Orders in the Church of England.

The object, however, which the friends of Jarratt had in view, when they thus generously assisted him, was ultimately attained in a way very different from that which had been proposed or wished. A wider acquaintance with men and books enlarged his mind, dispelled his prejudices, and changed many a long-cherished opinion. The fervour and unction and piety, which he had looked upon as the inheritance of

Presbyterians alone, he now saw abounded in the writings of divines of the Church of England. Her Prayer Book, which he had only known by passages detached in such a form as to appear objectionable, he found 'contained an excellent system of doctrine and public worship, equal to any other in the world.' His early connexions, indeed, with Presbyterianism, and the decided bias of his mind towards the teaching of Calvin, held him for a long time in doubt. The expense, also, and risks of a voyage to England, (increased by the war then raging,) which it was impossible he could avoid, if he were to enter into the Orders of her National Church, were very grave discouragements; from all which, a Presbyterian ordination, had he thought right to seek it, would have at once relieved him. In spite, however, of these difficulties, the final resolution of Jarratt was in favour of the Church of England. And, having obtained a title to a Parish, and the necessary papers from the Governor of Virginia, and from Robinson, the Bishop of London's Commissary, he crossed the Atlantic in the autumn of 1762, was examined by Dr. Jortin, Chaplain to the Bishop of London (Osbaldiston), and ordained Deacon in the Chapel Royal on Christmas-day that year. On the following Sunday, having been again examined, he received Letters Dimissory from the Bishop of London, and was ordained Priest by the Bishop of Chester, at a Church in the city.

His illness in England.

One chief reason which urged Jarratt to accomplish with such speed the objects of his visit to England, was the fear, then shared by all his countrymen[74], lest he might catch the small-

[74] See p. 129, *ante*.

pox. In his case, it was no causeless fear; for, before the frost of that winter had broken up, and enabled the vessel, in which he had taken his passage, to leave the Thames, he was attacked by that malady. Upon recovering from it, other trials awaited him. His landlord robbed him of a sum of money which Jarratt had deposited in his hands, and which, small as it was, constituted his whole fortune; and thus he was left penniless, in a strange city, 3000 miles from home. From the difficulties into which he was thus unexpectedly plunged, the kindness of a few friends extricated him; and, embarking at Liverpool, he returned to his native land, after an absence of nine months.

Assistance from Queen Anne's Bounty to the Virginia Clergy.

I ought not to omit to state in this place, that, at an early period of his stay in England, Jarratt received, from the trustees of Queen Anne's Bounty, the sum of £20. He describes it as the allowance made to every Clergyman ordained for, and going to, Virginia; and its appropriation to such a purpose, may serve to illustrate the considerate and kindly spirit in which the fund, of which I have before traced the origin and design, was then administered [75].

His appointment to Bath Parish.

A few weeks after his arrival in Virginia, Jarratt was unanimously received by the Vestry of Bath Parish, in the county of Dinwiddie, as its Rector. We have seen, that, at this period, the outward condition of the Church in Virginia and her inward spiritual life were alike depressed and weak. Within four months from the day on which he entered upon the duties of his Parish, followed the verdict of

[75] See Vol. ii. 521.

'The Parsons' Cause,' and all its disastrous consequences. Then arose the other elements of political and religious strife, of which some account has been already given, and the ruinous issue of which has yet to be described. In the midst of these sore perils, the vigilance and zeal and love of Devereux Jarratt never failed. The scorner mocked him. The formalist called him mad. The sectary tore asunder the bands by which he strove to unite his people. They of the same "household of faith" looked coldly on him. The shock of battle also was felt throughout the borders of his land. Scenes of demolition, tumult, and carnage were spread out before his eyes. Yet continued he stedfast in faith, and with hope unshaken; multiplying his labours of love, and never weary in the work of winning souls to Christ. He clung with stronger affection to the Church, of which he was an ordained minister, in the very moment of her lowest humiliation. When men were despising and forsaking her, he renewed the expression of his belief in the truth of her doctrines, the Apostolic order of her discipline, the edifying spirit of her worship[76]. He believed and affirmed that she would yet arise and shake herself from the dust, and become a praise and glory in the earth. He lived not, indeed, to see the full realisation of his prophetic hopes. In great weakness and pain of body, on the verge of threescore years, 'Father Jarratt, that good man,'—as his loving people rejoiced to call him,—finished his earthly course in January 1801. At that time, the first

His devoted ministry.

His belief in the future revival of the Church.

[76] See Jarratt's Letter to Mc Robert, when the latter seceded to the Presbyterians, in 1780.

workings of the renewed energy, which now distinguishes the Protestant Episcopal Church in Virginia, were only beginning to be felt. But, his words of assured confidence fell not to the ground unobserved. Some who heard them were permitted to see, and to acknowledge with gratitude, the rapid progress of their accomplishment[77]; and thousands more, at the present day, can produce, from that and every other Diocese in the United States, increased, and yet increasing, evidence of the same fact.

Conduct of the Virginia Clergy at the Revolution.

Turn we now aside, from the sentiments and conduct of individual members of the Virginia Clergy, to the consideration of the events of the Revolution which affected their whole body, and of their conduct under them. In the struggle that preceded the Revolution, it is computed that more than two-thirds of the Clergy, and a portion of the Lay-members of the Church in Virginia, were Loyalists. Of those who took side with the Colonies against the Mother-country, and became, in the end, the Republican party, some were men of note. Devereux Jarratt, for instance, of whom I have just spoken, was one of them;

[77] The Autobiography of Devereux Jarratt, abridged by Bp. Meade, of Virginia, is the source from which the above notices of his life have been derived. In the Commendatory Notice of this Abridgment, by Bp. Moore, written in 1840, and forming an Appendix to it, that prelate relates that Jarratt's widow was present at one of their earliest Conventions; and, after the adjournment of the House,—having witnessed the increase of their number, and the spirit, harmony, and energy of their debates,—she arose from her seat, and, referring to the hope, so strongly cherished by her husband, of the future revival of the Church in Virginia, confessed that she then saw its fulfilment; and, in token of her gratitude, gave 100 dollars towards the furtherance of the work.

and another was Madison, who, in 1790, was consecrated first Bishop of Virginia. Bracken, also, who, upon the death of Bishop Madison, in 1812, was elected his successor, but declined the office[78], espoused the same cause. Jarratt entered into the conflict with such zeal as to practise in his own person, and enforce upon others, the most rigid economy, in order to supply the exigencies of the country. 'Better to go *patch upon patch* than suffer their just rights to be infringed,' was his resolute and impassioned language[79]. Some of the Clergy actually relinquished their spiritual charge, and were found in the ranks of the army. One, whose name was Muhlenberg, accepted a Colonel's commission, raised a regiment among his Parishioners, served through the whole war, and retired at its close, with the rank of Brigadier-general; and another, from Frederick county, whose name was Thruston, held the appointment of Colonel under Washington[80].

Conduct of the Baptists.

Whilst such was the course pursued by several of the Clergy of the Church of Virginia,—a course, in which they were already preceded by some of the most distinguished of her Lay-members, Washington himself the foremost,—we find the Baptists stimulated in the same direction by other motives in addition to those of political excitement. Their hatred of the Church, and their desire to effect her overthrow, were not forgotten amid their disputes with the Mother-country. Seeing that a majority of

[78] Journals of Virginian Convention, 181, quoted in Wilberforce's History of the American Church, 279.

[79] Coleman's Address, prefixed to the Abridgment of Jarratt's Life, *ut sup.*, p. 2.

[80] Hawks's Virginia, 136, 137.

her Clergy still stood aloof, or avowed their attachment to the Crown of England, the Baptists eagerly assured the Convention then sitting, that they were not prevented by any religious scruples from taking up arms in defence of the Colonies, and that their Pastors were ready to promote the enlistment of young men in their respective Congregations. They petitioned also the Convention for leave to celebrate their own religious ordinances without any interference upon the part of 'the Clergy of other denominations,' and without paying any of the Church dues hitherto acquired by the Legislature. To this petition a favourable answer was returned, and orders were forthwith issued, enabling the Baptist ministers to officiate among their adherents in the ranks of the army upon the same footing with the regularly appointed Chaplains[81].

Effects of the Revolution upon the temporal possessions of the Church.

At length came the event so long looked for, the alienation and destruction of the temporal possessions of the Church in Virginia. The advantages gained over the British forces by those of the United Colonies, were followed by the solemn Declaration of Congress, July 4, 1776, that these Colonies were, 'and of right ought to be, FREE and INDEPENDENT STATES.' In the autumn of the same year, petitions poured in from the different religious sects of Virginia, as well as from those who scoffed at all religion, praying for the abolition of 'Church establishments,' the removal of 'all taxes on conscience,' and the unrestrained licence

Declaration of Independence.

[81] Journals of Convention, and Semple's History of Virginia Baptists, quoted by Hawks, p. 138.

Petitions and counter-petitions to the Convocation.

of 'private judgment[82].' Counter-petitions to these were presented, in which the members of the Church in Virginia and the Methodists alike joined, setting forth the injustice which would be inflicted upon the Clergy, by depriving them of possessions which they held by a tenure hitherto deemed as sacred as that which secured to any citizen his private property, and the folly and impolicy of allowing interests, so important as those involved in the teaching of religious truth, to be regulated only by the capricious will of the multitude.

First Acts of the Convocation respecting them.

The debates upon these petitions, both in the House and Committee to which they were referred, were protracted and fierce. Jefferson, the chief opponent of the Church, describes the struggle as the severest in which he was ever engaged. It ended, for the time, in repealing all laws which had hitherto declared the Church to be the dominant teacher in the Colony, and in exempting all Dissenters from contributing to her support. The arrears, indeed, of salaries due to the Clergy were allowed to be received by them until the end of the current year. Glebes also already purchased were still to be reserved for their use, and the Churches and Chapels already built, with all that appertained to them for the celebration of Divine Service, were to be retained for their congregations. The settlement of other questions, touching the expediency of providing religious ministrations throughout the

[82] Leland, the chronicler of the Baptists, says, that 'the Presbyterians, Baptists, Quakers, Deists, and the covetous, all prayed for this.' Quoted by Hawks, 139.

Colony, either by a general assessment or voluntary contributions, was left for future consideration [83].

Subsequent proceedings, which ended in the law for selling all glebe lands for the benefit of the public.

The exceptions in favour of the Church, which some of the above proceedings appeared still to countenance, were only a brief respite of the sentence awaiting her. In 1779, the advocates of the voluntary system, among whom the Baptists were always most conspicuous, succeeded in rejecting the proposal of a general assessment, and thereby destroyed nearly the last vestige of a religious establishment. They next moved the question that the glebe lands were public property, and carried it by one vote; and, having gained this point, went on with unwearied energy through a series of angry discussions for more than twenty years, until at length, on the 12th of January, 1802, the Legislature decreed that all glebe lands in Virginia should be sold for the benefit of the public [84].

Suffering of the Church, especially her Loyalist Clergy.

Meanwhile, the sufferings of the Church, especially those of her Loyalist Clergy, were many and grievous. Permitted by the laws, at first, to retain their glebes and to officiate in their Churches, they had yet to encounter the threats and fury of the people, if they used in its integrity the Prayer Book which, at their ordination, they had solemnly promised to observe. The prohibition to pray for the King was especially enforced upon them. Some yielded to such threats, and either omitted the obnoxious petitions in their

[83] Journals of Convention, and Jefferson's Works, &c., quoted by Hawks, 139—143.

[84] Ib. 152. 153. 233. A summary of the arguments for and against the sale of glebe lands is given, 226—230.

celebration of Divine Service, or, shutting up their Churches, abstained from offering any prayer at all in public. Others were determined to do their duty, come what might. It is recorded of one Clergyman, that, having taken leave of his family, whom he would not permit to accompany him to Church, he ascended the pulpit with loaded pistols thrust into his bosom, resolved to use them in his defence, if violence were offered. He was known to be one who would not flinch from any danger which arose in the path of duty; and even the most turbulent refrained from offering him any violence. Another, whose opinions were notoriously adverse to those cherished by a majority of the Colony, was aroused at night from his bed, upon the plea that a sick Parishioner needed his attendance. He instantly obeyed the call; and, journeying through the woods, was seized by men who laid in wait for him, and stripped, and scourged, and left fastened to a tree, where he must have perished, but for the intervention of some who passed by the next morning and saved him.

But cases of individual suffering were soon lost sight of amid the desolation which war spread over the land. The extent of this desolation in Virginia may be learnt from the records which tell us, that, when the first collision of hostile armies took place upon the plains of Lexington, in 1775, Virginia contained, in her 61 counties, 95 Parishes, 164 Churches and Chapels, and 91 Clergymen. At the conclusion of the war, eight years afterwards, 23 of these Parishes were utterly extinguished; and, of the rest, 34 were deprived of all ministerial help. Of her Clergy only 28 survived. Not more than 15 had been enabled to remain stedfast at their posts; the

rest having been driven away by violence or want, and compelled to seek in one or other of the vacant Parishes such precarious shelter and support as they could obtain.

The Churches also and Chapels, in well-nigh every Parish, had gone to ruin. Some had been cast down to the ground. Others, still standing, were roofless, dismantled, and injured beyond the power of repair. The soldiers had turned them into barracks or stables; and, lawless men joining with them, had, through very wantonness, broken down the walls, and burnt the gates, and polluted, defaced, or robbed, the books and vessels used in the celebration of holy services. The entire communion-plate of one of the old Churches fell into the hands of a member of that very body, the Baptists, who had been foremost in vilifying and decrying the ritual in which it had been employed. The drunkard, also, has been seen to drain his morning dram from the cup which, in the administration of Christ's holy ordinance, had been so often blessed as "the cup of blessing." And fonts of Holy Baptism were turned into watering-troughs for horses and cattle [85].

Brief summary of her subsequent history.

With this humiliating record before us, we might well infer the hopelessness of enquiring any further into the history of the Church whose downfal it describes. In a body thus prostrate and helpless, we might think it vain to look for any symptoms of returning life and energy. But life and energy have long since returned to her; and, walking in the strength of Him who lifted her up from her abasement, the Church in Virginia has

[85] MSS. Letters, &c., quoted by Hawks, 146. 153, 154. 236.

exhibited, with increasing years, increasing usefulness. It falls not within the limits of the present work to trace the evidences of this fact. But, referring the reader to the many sources of information upon the subject, well known and accessible to all, it may at least be permitted to one who has endeavoured to trace her earlier and troubled course, to acknowledge gratefully the cheering character of that which she pursues at the present day. Time was, indeed, when the evil influences which had oppressed her seemed likely to leave behind them, through many a future generation, the impress of their hurtful character[86]. And they who watched the slowness and the difficulty with which she emerged from them, may have felt their hearts sink within them for very sorrow. But all such perplexing and anxious fears have been forgotten in the joy with which we now behold this first-born daughter of the Church of England in America seeking to preserve, in the spirit of unaffected love, the sacred bonds of that relationship[87]. The prayer, which Virginia had so frequently urged in vain, that a Bishop might rule over her children, was at length granted by the consecration of Dr. Madison, in 1790, six years after the arrival of Bishop Seabury in Connecticut. For twenty-two years, he continued to discharge, sometimes, it must be confessed, feebly and ineffectually, the duties of his

Bishop Madison.

[86] Bp. Wilberforce's History, &c., 272, 273.

[87] 'As there is a Church of England and America, which we are allowed to love above all other great divisions of the Church of Christ upon earth, so there is to us, my brethren and friends, a Church in Virginia which we may love and care for, with a yet more special affection.' Bp. Meade's Address (1851) to the Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church of Virginia, p. 22.

office[88]. At an interval of two years from his death, Dr. Richard Channing Moore,—a man distinguished above all others of that day for the success which attended his labours in the ministry[89],—was summoned, from his charge of St. Stephen's Church, N. York, to succeed him. His path was beset with difficulties, but he approached it with unfaltering step; and, in the belief that God would uphold and guide him in it, the preacher at his consecration, Bishop Hobart, hesitated not to express the conviction of his thankful heart, that 'the night of adversity had passed, and that a long and splendid day was now dawning on the Church in Virginia.' When the infirmities of age drew on, Dr. William Meade was consecrated, in 1829, at the request of Bishop Moore, to be his Suffragan[90]; and he still lives to

Bishop Moore.

[88] Bp. Wilberforce's History, &c., 277.

[89] It is reported by Hawks (Virginia, p. 249) of Dr. Moore, when he was Rector of St. Andrew's, on Staten Island, that, one day, after he had finished his Sermon, and pronounced the blessing, 'he sat down in his pulpit, waiting for the people to retire. To his great surprise, he observed that not an individual present seemed disposed to leave the Church; and, after the interval of a few minutes, during which a perfect silence was maintained, one of the members of the congregation arose, and respectfully requested him to address those present a second time. After singing a hymn, he delivered to them a second discourse, and once more dismissed the people with the blessing. But the same state of feeling, which had before kept them in their seats, still existed, and once more did they solicit the preacher to address them. Accordingly, he delivered to them a third Sermon; and at its close, exhausted by the labour in which he had been engaged, he informed them of the impossibility of continuing the services on his part, once more blessed them, and affectionately entreated them to retire to their homes.' In Henshaw's Life of Bp. Moore, many other instances are recorded of his marvellous success as a preacher and pastor.

[90] Bp. Wilberforce's History, &c., 286. 293; Hawks's Virginia,

exercise, with the help of one whom, in his turn, he has received as Assistant Bishop (Dr. Johns), the duties of chief Pastor of the flock of Christ in that extensive Diocese. May the blessing of God be upon them, and upon the fold entrusted to their charge, for evermore [91]!

251—260. I beg to acknowledge, with great thankfulness, several publications of Bp. Meade which he has kindly forwarded to me. The pleasure and interest derived from their perusal increases my regret at having lost the benefit of Bp. Meade's account of some of the old Churches of Virginia. Campbell, in his History of Virginia, speaks of it (p. 111, *note*) in approving terms; and Bp. Meade had kindly complied with my request to be allowed to read it. But the papers have been lost, I fear irretrievably, on their way to England.

[91] I subjoin the following account of the Statistics of the Diocese of Virginia from the Church Almanack for 1853, published at New York:—Clergy, 111; Parishes, 172; Baptisms,—Adults, 93, Infants, 765: 858; Communicants (added 757), 5842; Confirmed, 440; Marriages, 314; Burials, 562; Churches consecrated, 6; Ordinations,—Deacons, 6, Priests, 1; Contributions, 32,980 dollars.

CHAPTER XXV.

THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND IN MARYLAND, FROM THE BEGINNING OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY TO THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE.

A.D. 1700—1776.

A REFERENCE to the previous history of the Church in Maryland will show, that, at the beginning of the 18th century, the Proprietary government, granted by the Charter of Charles I. to the family of Lord Baltimore, had been abolished, and the Church of England established. It will also show that evils, the same in kind, and perhaps greater in degree than those which oppressed the Church in Virginia, marked its establishment in Maryland. The Acts of the provincial legislature passed for that purpose had provoked the opposition of all who were not in communion with the Church, or adverse to religious establishments; and yet had failed to afford any security for the efficient discharge of those duties, which they were the declared instruments to promote.

The condition of the Church in Maryland, at the beginning of the 18th century.

We have seen, indeed, that Bray, as long as he remained in the province, and afterwards, when he returned to England, did all that

Services of Dr. Bray.

man could do to remedy the evils of a short-sighted legislation, and imparted a fresh energy to every ministration of the Church within its borders[1]. The sense of his zeal and watchfulness, in truth, led some persons, even in the continent of North America, in that day, to ascribe to them more success than they were warranted in doing. Thus, at one of the earliest meetings of The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, an 'Account of the State of Religion in the English Plantations in North America' was read, which had been furnished by Col. Dudley, Governor of New England; and, in his notice of Maryland, which he describes as containing 25,000 souls, in 26 Parishes, he adds, 'I suppose, well supplied by the care of Dr. Bray[2].' We have seen, in the course of the present Volume, that, in the prosecution of his noble efforts, Bray received, in some quarters, much sympathy and support[3]. We shall now find, in other quarters, that he had the mortification of seeing his most dearly cherished schemes frustrated.

Failure of his scheme to extend the authority, and augment the income, of the Bishop's Commissary.

One of the crying evils under which the Churches of Virginia and Maryland then laboured was their inability to restrain the appointment of unworthy Clergymen. In the other British possessions in North America, where The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel had her Missionaries, we have seen that the utmost pains were taken to provide faithful and efficient men[4]. But no such guarantee existed in the present case. The right of induction and of presentation were both centred in the Governor

[1] Vol. ii. 412—417.
[2] Hawkins, 24.
[3] See p. 40, *ante*.
[4] See pp. 62—66, *ante*.

alone. The Commissary could only remonstrate; and, where his remonstrance was neglected, the Church was left to bear the whole burden of reproach which the secular power cast upon her. A signal instance of this flagrant wrong had been recently witnessed, in the appointment to one of the most important Parishes in Maryland of a Clergyman whom Bray's vigilance had, a short time before, driven from Virginia[5]. To guard against a recurrence of it, Bray sought for a controuling power, by extending to the Commissary the right of induction, whilst that of presentation should still remain with the Governor. He published, at the same time (1702), a Memorial, in which he proposed to improve the temporal position of the Commissary, by furnishing him with a residence, and by annexing to his office another which should give him jurisdiction in testamentary causes, and to which had been hitherto attached a stipend of £300 a year. The first of these objects, Bray exerted himself to attain, by collecting contributions among those members of the Church at home who shared his benevolence and zeal; and the other, by soliciting the new Governor of Maryland, Col. Seymour, to aid him in obtaining the consent of the Crown to the annexation of the office in question, in behalf of his successor, Archdeacon Hewetson. Seymour not only peremptorily refused to comply with the request, but avowed his determination to prevent even the admission of a Commissary into the province, as long as he presided over it. His opposition was so far successful, that Hewetson never left England to

Colonel Seymour, Governor of Maryland.

[5] Maryland MSS. from the archives at Fulham, quoted by Hawks, in his Narrative of the Protestant Episcopal Church in Maryland, 121.

discharge the duties of his office; and, for fourteen years afterwards, no one was appointed in his place.

Attempt to establish a Spiritual Court, composed of Lay-members only.

Meanwhile, an attempt was made to impose upon the Church in Maryland, at the hands of Laymen alone, a controul which had been denied to her Spiritual rulers. A Bill passed both Houses of the provincial legislature, in 1708, authorising the establishment of a Spiritual Court, which should consist of the Governor and three other Lay-members, and, taking cognizance of all charges brought against the Clergy, be enabled, in case of conviction, to deprive them of their livings, or even to suspend them from the ministry. The design bore witness, indeed, to the necessity of ecclesiastical discipline being lodged somewhere, but was manifestly subversive of the principles of Episcopal government. The Clergy, accordingly, addressed Bishop Compton, who still presided over the See of London, showing that to consent to the establishment of a Court so composed, would be to fasten Presbyterianism upon the neck of the Church in Maryland, and effectually to hinder the supervision by her own lawful Pastors which had been so long earnestly desired. Without the consent of the authorities at home, a Court of this description,—so completely setting at nought the jurisdiction of its National Church,—could not, of course, be constituted; and the consent never came. The disorders, therefore, by which the Church was weakened, were still left without remedy. But, on the other hand, those who, by reason of her weakness, sought to make her the creature of their own purposes,—or those who, with a sincere desire to strengthen her, might have found the remedy which they applied

worse than the disease,—were alike prevented from aggravating the evils which existed.

Depressed condition of the Church.

The magnitude of those evils may be learnt from evidences still extant. A Clergyman, writing in 1714 to Bishop Robinson, who had been translated, in the preceding year, from the See of Bristol to that of London, represents the disregard of holy things which then prevailed as almost universal; the Sacraments of the Church neglected, and, in some instances, ceasing altogether to be celebrated; dissoluteness of manners, and contempt for the laws of marriage, amid all classes. Another, who laboured as he best could, in spite of every difficulty, describes himself as having, for four years, had the sole charge of the whole county of Somerset, consisting of four Parishes, some of which were nearly 30 miles in length, and 16 or 18 in breadth; that, among them six congregations were scattered, in visiting which he had to travel every month a distance of 200 miles; that tobacco, the only medium provided by law for payment for his services, was then worth nothing; and that all the money received by him, for some months past, had not amounted to more than ten shillings.

Governor Hart succeeds Seymour.

Upon the death of Seymour, in 1709, Col. Lloyd had charge for five years of the province, at the end of which time, Hart, the new Governor, arrived. He appears to have been a man of earnest and devout spirit, and lost no time in convening the Clergy at Annapolis. His motive for this step was not, as had been evinced by some of his predecessors, a wish to lord it over the Clergy, and assume to himself a power which the law denied; but simply that he might furnish the Bishop of London

with the knowledge of many particulars which had been hitherto withheld, and thereby enable him to remedy the irregularities which abounded in the province. The result of his enquiries was to show, that, among the Clergy of Maryland were many who, in faith and patience, pursued, under heavy discouragements, the path of duty; and 'some (to use his own words) whose education and morals were a scandal to their profession.' After consulting with those of the Clergy whose exemplary lives invited it, and hearing certain complaints, urged by the Vestry of a Parish in which one of the most flagrant instances of clerical misconduct was alleged to exist, Hart sent three Clergymen into the Parish, with authority to examine into the matter, and forwarded their report, with his own confirming it, to the Bishop of London. The tediousness of such a process, even where the means of arriving at a definite result were at hand, was intolerable. None felt this more keenly than the Clergy, whom it most nearly concerned. They and the Governor renewed their prayer for that which could alone effectually relieve them from the burden, the presence of a Bishop; but again their prayer was not answered.

His enquiries into the condition of the Clergy.

Abortive result.

About this time a change was made, in the public profession of his faith, by the representative of the family of Baltimore, which could not fail to affect the province of which he was still Proprietor. We have seen the error of Charles I. and his counsellors in granting to the first Lord Baltimore, a Roman Catholic, a Charter of which it was impossible for him, or his descendants (if they continued to be

Lord Baltimore leaves the Church of Rome, and becomes a member of the Church of England.

Roman Catholics), faithfully to observe the conditions, according to their plain and obvious meaning. We have seen, also, that the transfer of its government from the family of Baltimore to the Crown, in 1691, was the inevitable consequence of a proceeding which, from the first, contained within itself the elements of its own confusion[6]. But the rights of proprietorship remained, although those of government had been lost; and the family, upon which both had been originally conferred, retained a deep interest in the welfare of a province still its own. It is asserted, indeed, by Hawks and McMahon, that the anxiety of its representative at this time to regain for his children all the privileges of the first Charter, led him to persuade his heir, Benedict, to abandon the communion of the Church of Rome, and to embrace that of the Church of England[7]. But no proof is offered in support of such a statement. And, until it be proved true, I cannot believe that the change in question was prompted by any unworthy motives. The first Lord Baltimore left, without any imputation upon his honesty, the Church of England for that of Rome. Why should selfish and corrupt designs be ascribed to his descendant, who, after the lapse of nearly a century, returned from the Church of Rome to that of England? True, the restoration soon afterwards to his family of the right of government over Maryland, affords a colourable pretext for such an imputation. But the impartial enquirer after truth will demand far clearer evidence upon this point, before he can admit the imputation to be just. To Benedict, Lord Balti-

[6] Vol. i. 475; ii. 402.
[7] Hawks's Maryland, p. 144; McMahon's Ditto, i. 279.

more, it does not appear that any such restoration was either promised or made. He died within little more than a year after his father, leaving an infant son, Charles, for whose education in the faith of the Church of England he had made careful provision. To this child, George I. restored the full privileges of the first Maryland Charter; and the commission of Hart, already the Royal Governor of the province, was renewed, in 1715, by a Commission issued in the joint names of the infant proprietor and his guardian, Lord Guildford.

Act for the better security of the Protestant interest within the province.

One of the earliest measures of the provincial legislature of Maryland, after this restoration of the Proprietary government, was an Act for the better security of the Protestant interest within its borders. The enactments passed a few years before at home for the limitation and succession of the Crown of England in the Protestant line, and the enforcement by arms of the pretended claims of a Popish prince to that Crown, in the very year which witnessed the re-investment of the Baltimore family with their original privileges, would, under any circumstances, have drawn the attention of a Colony, so long and intimately associated with Roman Catholic influence, to this subject; and led the provincial legislature to be more strict and vigilant. Accordingly, this Act, passed July 17, 1716, rigidly enforced upon every person holding any office or place of trust, the Oath of Abjuration, and all other oaths which had been required in England as necessary for the security of the King's person and government and for the succession of the Crown[8].

[8] Trott's Laws, 182—186.

In the same year, the office of Commissary, after many applications, was renewed, and two Maryland Clergymen were appointed by the Bishop of London to discharge its duties; Christopher Wilkinson, upon the eastern, and Jacob Henderson, upon the western shore of the Chesapeake. The members of the provincial legislature viewed the revival of the office with extreme jealousy. Instead of increasing, they seemed determined to lessen, wheresoever they could, the influence of the Clergy. In some instances, indeed, were it not for the animus displayed, their measures to this end might almost create a smile. They chose, for example, this moment for reducing the amount of the small marriage fee, five shillings, which had been always customary, and expressly sanctioned by the Act, passed March 16, 1701-2, for the establishment of the Church in Maryland[9]. The value, also, of the stipend provided by the same Act for each Clergyman, namely, a tax of 40 lbs. of tobacco per poll (out of which he was to pay the clerk yearly 1000 lbs. of tobacco), was now much diminished by the inconvenient season of the year at which the sheriffs were appointed to pay it; and a threat of further reduction was held out by the expressed intention of the legislature to divide the existing Parishes. These and other like grievances were made the subject of anxious conference between Commissary Wilkinson and the Clergy of his district at his first visitation; and a representation of them was forwarded to the Bishop of London. Wilkinson was a calm and prudent man, and eminently qualified to be a guide and counsellor

Wilkinson and Henderson appointed Commissaries.

Their character.

[9] Ib. 172.

to his brethren. Henderson, on the other hand, though frank and generous and full of ardent zeal, was vain and rash; inflaming by his earliest acts the jealousy and ill will of Laymen, and irritating even the Clergy who were anxious to strengthen his hands, and to be, in their turn, directed by him. Nevertheless, when convinced of error, he was prompt to repair it; and, although the breach between Governor Hart and himself was never entirely healed, confidence between him and the Clergy was quickly and fully restored.

Hart tries to obtain from the provincial legislature a sanction to the exercise of the Bishop's jurisdiction in Maryland, but fails.

In 1718, Hart, being desirous to remove some of the difficulties which lay in the way of the exercise of Episcopal jurisdiction in the province, convened the Clergy, simultaneously with the meeting of the Assembly, at Annapolis, and requested them to draw up certain propositions as a basis upon which he hoped an Act might be passed, establishing that jurisdiction more securely. Such an Act was framed, and passed the Upper House without difficulty, but failed to receive the support of the Lower House. Henderson, indeed, had looked upon this result as certain, seeing that a third of its members was composed of Dissenters, and a majority of the rest notoriously adverse to the restoration of any Ecclesiastical discipline. He even doubted the sincerity of the Governor's professed affection for the Church,—a doubt evidently shared by Hawks in his account of the matter[10],—in submitting to the legislature a measure so sure to fail. But herein, I think, Hart has been hardly dealt with. His course, from

[10] Hawks's Maryland, 165.

first to last, if not wise, appears to have been honest; and the hasty surmises of the impetuous Commissary, who so often came into collision with him, must not tempt us to lay upon his memory the burden of an unjust reproach.

Hart resigned his government in 1720; and, three years afterwards, Bishop Gibson, who was then translated from the See of Lincoln to that of London, gave a fresh impulse to the ministrations of the Clergy of Maryland by the searching enquiries which he addressed to them. Not satisfied with the terms of the authority under which the Bishop of London had hitherto exercised jurisdiction over English congregations abroad and over the Church in the Colonies,—an authority, of which I have described the origin and character in a previous portion of this work [11],—Bishop Gibson sought from George I. a special Commission, which defined it more clearly; and, until he obtained it, refrained from reappointing the two Commissaries whose offices had ceased at the death of his predecessor. The answers returned to his enquiries [12] served but to bring to light once more the many anomalies of his own position and that of the Colonial Clergy, and made all parties more urgent than ever in their prayer that they might be removed in the only effectual way by the appointment of Bishops in the Colonies. I am almost wearied in recording the fact, that again their prayer was not listened to. For a time, indeed, the Clergy in the province seemed to have had the sympathy of Charles Calvert, the successor of Hart, and also of his brother,

Hart resigns.

Bishop Gibson.

[11] Vol. i. 412.

[12] A portion of the Bishop's first Address, which accompanied these enquiries, is given by Bp. Wilberforce in his History, &c., 136.

Act for establishing Schools.

Benedict Leonard, the next Governor. The provincial legislature also manifested a better spirit by passing, in 1723, an Act for the endowment and management of a School in each county. But the hopes thus excited soon passed away. The encouragement held out on the part of the Governor failed the Clergy in the hour of trial; and the assistance, which the legislature seemed ready to give towards the work of education, began and ended with the mere enactment of a formal statute.

Oppression of the Church by the provincial legislature.

Within a short time, indeed, the profession of sympathy was exchanged for acts of positive hostility, in which one Thomas Bordsley, a lawyer and a member of the House of Assembly, took the most conspicuous part. The menaces before held out, of subdividing the Parishes and reducing the incomes of the Clergy, were now, by his agitation, carried into effect. It was argued, that the endowments of the Church, as they had been created, so they could be withdrawn, by the will of the legislature; and, that, as the Royal assent had never been given to the Act which established such endowments, its reversal could not be arrested by any interference of home authority. The work of spoliation accordingly began forthwith. The Parish of which Wilkinson, formerly a Commissary, had been hitherto entrusted with the sole charge, was the first to be severed, and its aggregate revenue distributed between the two portions. Nor was this all. The amount of this aggregate revenue was further to be reduced one-fourth; a measure, of which the execution was only delayed for a time, in consequence of its having been connected with another, which affected some of the commercial interests of the Colony.

A Bill also was introduced into the House of Assembly for establishing a Court, composed entirely of Laymen, for the trial of all Ecclesiastical offences. An attempt of this kind had been made in the time of Governor Seymour[13]; and the inherent difficulties which prevented its success then, led also to its failure at the present time.

Thomas Bordsley, their chief instrument.

Bordsley, the prime mover of all these proceedings, urged them forward with a bitter hatred. Disaffected towards the reigning family of England, he was enraged at finding that only a few of the Clergy of Maryland shared those political opinions in favour of the house of Stuart, which had created the gravest difficulties in the way of their brethren at home, and which, as we shall presently see, were propagated with not less zeal by some of the most distinguished members of their body abroad. His disappointment, on this account, stimulated his every effort to crush the Clergy. The anomalous character of their position gave to him great advantages, of which he did not scruple to avail himself upon every occasion. The fact of the government being Proprietary helped to confuse the relations in which the Clergy stood towards Lord Baltimore and towards the Bishop of London. Every Clergyman appointed to a Parish in Maryland, although chosen by Baltimore, and inducted by the Governor, his representative, was yet licensed by the Bishop of London. If he should be guilty of any irregularity, the Bishop's Commissary was authorised to take cognizance of it. But we have seen that, for fourteen years, no Commissary was found in the Colony; that one of its most

[13] See p. 180, *ante*.

busy Governors openly declared that he would never allow a Commissary to come,—a resolution which he contrived to keep; and that, at the present juncture, Bishop Gibson did not feel that he had authority to appoint a Commissary. And, even supposing that no such obstacles had ever existed, and that a Commissary had been able to exercise the duties of his office, yet, if he were to succeed in convicting the person brought before him for trial, neither he nor the Bishop had any power to punish the offender.

Rev. Mr. Colebatch invited by the Bishop of London to come home for consecration, but forbidden to leave Maryland.

However humiliating the history of such confusion, we find that there was even yet a lower depth of degradation to which the Maryland Clergy were brought. After many a fruitless application for the presence of a Bishop among them, they were at length comforted with the prospect of a return to their prayer. The Bishop of London invited them to nominate one of their own body as a man worthy to be his Suffragan. The object of their choice was Colebatch, a man of exemplary character; and the Bishop wrote, requesting him to come to England that he might be consecrated to that office. No records remain to show the specific grounds upon which the Bishop rested this proposal; but it is impossible to believe that such a communication could have been forwarded without proper authority. The result, however, was as fruitless as had been all former attempts of the kind, and the mode in which it was defeated is almost incredible. Upon intelligence being received of the contemplated measure, a writ of *ne exeat* was actually applied for and granted by the Courts of Maryland against Colebatch! The Colony was thus turned into a prison-house; and the man whom both

its Clergy and their Diocesan in England were anxious to see invested with the office of Suffragan Bishop was forbidden by its legislature to leave its borders.

Reduction of the incomes of the Clergy.

In 1728, the Act, which had been before brought forward, and the progress of which had been delayed by a cause already explained, passed into a law. Its title declared it to be only an Act for 'improving the staple of tobacco;' and, with that view, it prohibited the planting of more than a certain quantity. But, inasmuch as it gave all parties, who had been hitherto bound to pay in tobacco the assessments levied for Parochial or other public charges, the option of either paying the whole or any part of such assessments in money, at the rate of ten shillings for every hundred-weight of tobacco, or of paying in tobacco, as a discharge in full of all claims, three-fourths only of the quantity before required, its effect was obviously to mulct all the Clergy a fourth of their income. The price of tobacco, indeed, might be increased by limiting the extent of its growth, and the general prosperity of the Colony be thereby advanced. But, in such a case, the people who profited by this prosperity would doubtless avail themselves of the powers of the Act, and make only a money payment. On the other hand, if tobacco should fall in price, the people would as certainly make their payments in the article itself, and that only to an amount three-fourths as much as had been required before.

Henderson goes to England for redress.

The Clergy felt it hopeless to ask for redress in the Colony; and yet to publish their intention of seeking it from home, would only be to provoke the issuing of a fresh writ of *ne exeat* against each and every one whom they might employ as agent on their behalf. With the

utmost secrecy, therefore, they drew up petitions to the King, the Lord Proprietor, the Bishop of London, and The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, and delivered them to Henderson, in full confidence that he would support them with zeal, ability, and courage. They were not disappointed in this expectation. He made good his voyage to England, and instantly submitted the matter for consideration in the proper quarters. The absence of Baltimore from the country prevented for a time any communication with him. Meanwhile, the Committee on Plantation Affairs, to whom the King in Council referred the petition, were engaged in considering it; but, on the return of Baltimore, suspended their Report until he should have formed his determination. It was clear and decisive. He expressly prohibited the operation of any Act which should encroach upon the endowments already provided for the Church in Maryland, and assured the Clergy that he would protect them against any invasion of their rights. From the Bishop and the Society, Henderson received all the sympathy and support which he could have looked for. The Bishop, having now received the special Commission which he had sought for from the Crown, renewed to him the office of Commissary with enlarged powers; no longer confining them only to one side of the Bay of Chesapeake, but extending them throughout the whole province. And the Society not only offered to help the Maryland Clergy by employing them, should they require it, as its own Missionaries, but assisted Henderson with a loan of money for defraying the expense of the legal and other charges which he had incurred. He promised to repay the same as soon as he should return to Maryland; and,

to the credit of her Clergy be it said, they enabled him, in the midst of their own difficulties, punctually to fulfil his promise.

Baltimore assents to the Act affecting the incomes of the Clergy.

The return of Henderson from England, and the intelligence which he brought with him, were the signal for fresh conflicts. The legislature, defeated in their attempt to deduct a fourth from the established payment to each Clergyman, immediately passed another Act authorising the payment of a fourth of that amount in wheat, or barley, or Indian corn, or oats; and affixing to a bushel of each different grain the price deemed to be its equivalent in tobacco. But, as the rate at which this price was fixed was purely arbitrary, and far higher, in every instance, than that warranted by the real value of tobacco, the practical effect was still to withhold from the Clergy a portion of the provision to which they were entitled by the Act of 1701-2. Once more they applied to the Bishop of London, entreating him to defend them from this wrong. The whole Colony was agitated by the strife thus created. Angry pamphlets, vexatious law-suits, even acts of personal insult and violence, were painful proofs of the fierceness with which it raged; and to look for any successful issue of the ministrations of the Church, howsoever diligently in some quarters still sustained, in the face of opposition so grievous and humiliating as this, was, indeed, to believe in hope against hope. Henderson, who bore himself resolutely against all assailants, was the chief object of attack at this crisis. They who clamoured the most loudly against alleged delinquencies of the Clergy, were the first to screen the offenders, if only, by so doing, they might thwart and

vex the indefatigable Commissary. A signal instance of this disgraceful conduct occurred, soon after the accession of George II. Henderson, by virtue of his office, had taken steps to punish the notorious profligacy of one of the Clergy. But, because he could not at once show that the special Commission obtained by Bishop Gibson from George I. (by virtue of which he had been appointed Commissary) was still in force, a prosecution was immediately set on foot against him; and the death of the wretched prosecutor, who fell into the fire in a fit of drunkenness, alone saved him from a vexatious and expensive law-suit. Another offender, who was rich, and supported by the influence of many Laymen, who degraded themselves by making him the instrument of their malicious onslaught against Henderson, openly defied all his efforts to bring him to account. Henderson entreated the Bishop to arm him with fresh powers, without which his enemies confidently asserted that he could not move. And there is grave reason for believing that they who insisted upon the production of the required instrument, took care to intercept it by the way; for it did not reach him. That Henderson should still have persevered in a contest against such adversaries, proves his conviction of the righteous cause entrusted to him, and his unflinching courage in maintaining it. He had little to cheer or strengthen him from any quarter. In the Colony, the Governor and legislature were leagued to effect his overthrow. The scoffers and the profane longed eagerly for this result. The Quakers and Jesuits looked on with feelings of complacency, which they took little pains to conceal; and the few whom he could still call his friends were abashed and panic-stricken. Neither did any promise

or prospect of help arrive from England. Baltimore, who had publicly declared his determination to defend the rights of the Clergy, gave, notwithstanding, his consent to the law which, by substituting a payment in grain for that before required in tobacco, led necessarily to a serious diminution of their income. And the Bishop of London, seeing that it was hopeless any longer to resist the combined efforts of Proprietor, Governor, and House of Assembly, advised Henderson to submit. Henderson was desirous to have made another voyage to England, and to have carried the complaints of his brethren again before the King in Council. But an enterprise so little likely, as it seemed, to lead to any satisfactory issue, received not any encouragement from Bishop Gibson.

He visits Maryland.

The resignation by Benedict Calvert of his office of Governor of Maryland, in 1731, through ill health, relieved the Clergy from some of the difficulties which had been created by his constant ill-will against them. His successor, Samuel Ogle, exhibited towards them even a friendly spirit; and so did Baltimore, when he came, the next year, to visit the Colony of which he was Proprietor. The object of his visit was the settlement of a dispute between himself and the family of Penn, touching the boundaries of their respective provinces. He remained twelve months in Maryland, during which period he strove successfully to appease the irritated feelings of the Clergy and the legislature. The Clergy were assured by him of his readiness to defend them against all further encroachments upon their privileges; and the Bishop's Commissary was invited to resume the exercise of all the powers of his office without fear of molestation. The

Good effects thereof.

leading members also of the legislature, who had been distinguished for their pertinacity in framing successive enactments which they knew must be received with aversion by the Clergy, showed that the example of Baltimore was not lost upon them. We find no mention made, after his departure, of any renewal of the like efforts to vex their persons or weaken their influence. Ogle, indeed, who had resumed the reins of government, did much towards preventing the admission of unworthy Clergymen into the province. Formerly, the right of presentation by the Proprietor, and of induction by the Governor, had been exercised without the slightest check; but now, as often as any one offered himself for induction into a Parish, the Bishop's Commissary was consulted by Ogle with respect to his fitness for the office; and where the result was not satisfactory, the induction was not proceeded with.

Evils still unremedied.

In spite, however, of these encouraging circumstances, and the hope which they afforded of better things, a heavy burden of reproach, contracted through the misgovernment of so many years, still rested upon the Church in Maryland. Some of her most grievous wrongs—especially that whereby she was denied the power of removing from a Parish a Clergyman once inducted into it, however unworthy he might be proved to be—still remained without a remedy. The want of harmony also between Baltimore and Bishop Gibson, was so greatly increased after the return of Baltimore to England, that they soon ceased even to hold any communication with each other upon the subject so intimately connected with the duties of both. The effect of this estrangement was to check, upon the part of Balti-

more, the growth of those friendly feelings towards the Clergy which his visit to Maryland had awakened; and, upon the part of Bishop Gibson, to weaken, and at length to suspend altogether, those relations with the Colonial Clergy which, upon his first appointment to the See of London, he had been evidently anxious to maintain. Whether this result arose from causes altogether beyond the controul of the Bishop, or from any lack of patience and prudence in himself, I have not been able to ascertain. Hawks, indeed, does not hesitate to cast upon Gibson so great a share of blame in this matter, as to affirm that the death of that distinguished prelate, which occurred in 1748, must be regarded as an event 'not injurious to the Maryland Church [14].' But neither the Fulham MSS., nor those of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, which are the sources from which he avowedly derives the materials of his narrative, and both of which I have carefully examined, justify this remark. The Maryland Clergy, there is no doubt, were utterly disheartened by the treatment which they received. Even Henderson was cast down; and, worn out by protracted and fruitless contests, ceased to exercise any longer his duties as Commissary. He has not left, as far as I am aware, on record his reasons for taking this step; and it only remains for us to express our regret that zeal and diligence and courage such as his should, in the end, have been found to have availed nothing.

Bishop Gibson ceases to interest himself in Maryland.

Henderson ceases to act as Commissary.

It is some consolation to know, that, although defeated in his efforts to re-

Builds a Chapel in Queen

[14] Hawks's Maryland, 230.

Anne's Parish.

store to the Church in Maryland the spiritual discipline which she so much needed, Henderson still laboured to provide for her children the ministration of her public ordinances. He and his wife built, at their own expense, a Chapel, which was constituted by the legislature a Chapel of Ease in Queen Anne's Parish, Prince George's County.

Whitefield's visit.

Eight years before the death of Bishop Gibson, Whitefield payed a brief visit to Maryland; and his testimony as to its spiritual condition, as might be expected, was not favourable. It is right, however, to add, that the opposition which he had to encounter came not so much from the Church established in the province as from the Presbyterian Clergy, whom, in his usual strain of unmeasured invective, he describes as 'the seed of the serpent[15].' The success which attended his preaching elsewhere, appears not to have followed him to Maryland; and he soon left it for other and more inviting fields of labour.

Increase of Roman Catholics.

The Roman Catholic influence, coeval with the first formation of the Colony,—although often checked and retarded by events that occurred in the interval,—had, of late years, been gradually gaining ground. In some counties, their places of worship were more numerous than those of any other communion; and, during the administration of Benedict Calvert, many offices of emolument and dignity had been conferred upon them.

The Baptists.

The Baptists, also, whose zeal and energy we have seen were so great in Vir-

[15] Whitefield's Works, i. 225.

ginia, found many opportunities, which they eagerly seized, to extend their influence through parts of the adjoining Colony. And thus the same spectacle was exhibited in both provinces, of a Church enfeebled, degraded, deserted, by her proper rulers; of enemies quick, and strong, and clamorous for her overthrow.

Re-enactment of the law, regulating the payment of the Clergy.

The Act of 1730, which had ordained that a fourth of the tobacco assessment (provided for the payment of the Clergy) might henceforward be paid in grain or in money, had expired with the period to which its operation was limited. In 1747, it was renewed for five years more. The Clergy forbore to make any opposition. Their objections remained the same; but the withdrawal of Bishop Gibson's help taught them to feel that any remonstrance would be vain.

Bp. Sherlock.

As soon as Sherlock became Bishop of London (1748), they renewed to him their prayer for counsel and support. The difficulty of giving these in any effectual way led Sherlock, at first, to hesitate, and to decline compliance with their prayer. But further reflection showed that he had no choice in the matter; and, that, howsoever complicated or conflicting the relations between the Proprietor, himself, the Colonial government, and the Clergy, it was yet his duty to try and bring them into a well-ordered state. The pitiable condition of the Church in Maryland is thus described by her Clergy in their appeal to Sherlock.

Representation to him by the Clergy of the state of the Church in Maryland.

> Your Lordship undoubtedly knows the unhappy difference that subsisted between our late Proprietary and Dr. Gibson, your worthy predecessor, concerning the ordination and licences of the clergy whom he inducted to livings here in his gift as Proprietary; the

consequence of which has been the presentation of several persons unequal to the sacred function on account of their learning, parts, and scandalous lives; and what adds greatly to the misfortune is, that our late Commissary being (in a great measure) suspended by the Government from the execution of his office, not only priests made of the lowest of the people have been inducted, but, being under no jurisdiction, they have done what seemed good in their own eyes, to the greatest scandal and detriment of our holy religion; for from hence the Jesuits stationed among us have reaped no small advantage; from hence enthusiasts and schismatics, rambling up and down the province seeking whom they may seduce, have too much prevailed on the wavering and ignorant; from hence, those that sit in the seat of the scorner have proselyted too many to deism; from hence, many professed members of our Church have degenerated into lukewarmness by disregard to the doctrines of those whose persons they hold in the utmost contempt; and from hence, by the vicious examples and indiscreet behaviour of such teachers, too many have been patronised in immoral courses.

Renewed contests between the Clergy and legislature touching their stipends.

No other topics were here touched upon but such as related to the spiritual wants of the Church. The Clergy passed over in silence the difficulties in which they were about to be placed, by the probable re-enactment of the law so obnoxious to them. But, as the period drew near at which the Act of 1747 was to expire, they were active in soliciting from the Bishop all the aid which he could give them to prevent its re-enactment. The wisdom and policy of their conduct in this matter has been questioned by their best friends. The improved condition of the country, and the increase of its population, had, in truth, saved them from much of the loss which they had apprehended they would suffer. In some instances, their stipends had become actually greater than when the original Act of 1730 was passed; and, under any circumstances, the position of

every Clergyman in Maryland was, in respect of temporal matters, far more favourable than that of their brethren in any other Colony of North America. To assume, therefore, the character of complainants, when their condition was so much better than that of others, and to demand a restitution of their so-called rights, whilst no effectual corrective had yet been applied to ensure the performance of their acknowledged duties, was but to alienate the sympathies of those who might have been well affected towards them, and to inflame with fiercer hatred the passions of all who were their avowed enemies. Their opposition to the re-enactment of the Act, in 1758, of course proved unavailing. And when, at the expiration of five years from that date, its re-enactment for the same term was once more proposed, the Clergy had learnt this wisdom from their defeat, that they abstained from offering any more resistance.

Reduction of their stipends.

At length, in 1763, after another lustrum had passed away, the legislature, disgusted and wearied out by the continued irregularities of the great mass of the clergy, and seeing not any prospect of amendment, brought forward two Acts, the one of which at once cut off a fourth from their stipends, and was to continue in force for five years; and the other established a Lay tribunal for the trial and punishment of all offences committed by them. The first was carried by acclamation; and the other, after having passed both Houses, only failed to become law through the refusal of Sharpe, then Governor, to give his assent to it. His refusal arose, not from any reluctance to see some such tribunal erected,—for what could be worse than the continued exhibition of clerical delinquency

unrestrained?—but simply from the fact which had caused the same measure to fail in a former day, its incompatibility with the principles and discipline of the Church of England.

Governor Eden.

But, whilst an unwillingness to take any step which might place the Colony in a false position towards the Mother-country prevented Sharpe from bringing the Maryland Clergy under the sole authority of a Lay tribunal, his successor, Robert Eden, the last of the Proprietary Governors, came out, in 1769, armed with instructions involving an infringement of their rights more flagrant than any with which they had been before threatened. They were absolutely forbidden to meet together any more for the purpose of preparing, or executing in concert, any measures, howsoever important and needful these might appear to be to the Church, or to themselves her ministers. The freedom of thought and speech which the Planters of Maryland could hardly withhold, except under terror of the lash, from the poor Negroes who toiled upon their estates, was henceforward to be denied to men whose commission it was to preach deliverance "from the bondage of corruption into the glorious liberty of the children of God." (Rom. viii. 21.)

The Clergy forbidden to meet together.

If any thing could add to the infamy of such a mandate, it was the time at which it was issued. The Clergy who had been deputed by the Northern Colonies to confer with their brethren in the South, for the purpose of making an united application to the authorities at home for the establishment of a Colonial Episcopate, had, in the discharge of their office, visited Maryland. They had met there with

a more favourable reception than in Virginia, and had agreed with her Clergy upon Addresses to be drawn up and forwarded to the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of London, and Baltimore. No attempt was made to cast a cloke of secrecy over any of their proceedings. The Governor was promptly informed by the Clergy of all that had passed, and requested by them to exert his influence with the Proprietor to obtain a favourable answer to their prayer. The only answer which they received was that of rebuke and insult. Never were they to presume to meet again! And as for the necessity, which they talked about, of Episcopal superintendence, the Governor told them that the Parishes in Maryland were all Donatives, and therefore beyond any controul which a Bishop could exercise.

Fallacious plea that the Parishes in Maryland were Donatives.

The Clergy yielded without further remonstrance to the representation thus made to them of their position, believing either that the representation was correct, or that they had no power to refute it. But there can be little doubt that the merits of a righteous cause were, in this instance, compromised by a most fallacious plea. A Donative by the law of England is, where 'the King, or any subject by his licence, doth found a Church or Chapel, and ordains that it shall be merely in the gift or disposal of the Patron, subject to his visitation only, and not to that of the Ordinary, and vested absolutely in the Clerk, by the Patron's deed of donation, without presentation, institution, or induction[16].' This was not the true character of the Livings in Maryland. Its Charter, no

[16] Blackstone's Commentaries, iii. 30, Stephen's ed.

doubt, had invested the Proprietor with the patronage and advowsons of all Churches which might hereafter be built in any quarter of it; and given him licence, also, to erect and found Churches and Chapels. But, not in any single instance, had the first Proprietor, or any of his successors, erected or founded any Church or Chapel in the province. And the reason is obvious. The Charter had distinctly said, that all Churches and Chapels erected within its borders should be dedicated and consecrated according to the Ecclesiastical laws of the Kingdom of England. And such a dedication, neither the first Proprietor nor his successors could willingly make; for, until the time of George I., they were all Roman Catholics. I stop not to repeat, what I have so often touched upon before, the impropriety of such a Charter being granted under such circumstances. All that I am now concerned to show is, that, by the operation of them, no Parish was erected by any representative of the family of Baltimore, but all by the provincial legislature; and that the people paid for the support of the Clergy of Parishes thus erected the assessment appointed by the legislature. Not one, therefore, of the Maryland Parishes was a Donative, in the true sense of the term. And, even if they had been, and consequently given exemption to the Clergyman from Episcopal visitation, they could not have exempted him from the censure to which acts of immorality, or the preaching of unsound doctrine, would have made him liable. In England, Donatives were not allowed only that impunity to crime might be secured. The laws of England, both spiritual and temporal, howsoever sometimes evaded, were a constant and clear witness against any such unrighteous principle. With what

show, therefore, of reason could an opposite course of action be defended or palliated by the Governor of an English Colony? The scandal of clerical delinquency within the province was most afflicting; and yet, when application was made to him to assist the Clergy in providing for them the one effectual remedy, he could bring himself to answer them only by a hollow and fallacious plea!

The effect of the Stamp Act and other measures of the English Government.

The false and embarrassing position, which had been for so many years occupied by the Maryland Clergy, became every day more critical by the progress of the political differences between England and her American Colonies. The agitation produced by the Stamp Act within this province was as great as that manifested in any other quarter of the continent. Zachariah Hood, an unhappy merchant of Annapolis, who, in an evil hour for himself, had accepted the office of distributor of Stamps, was compelled to flee in terror to New York; his effigy having been first flogged at the whipping-post, tied to the pillory, and then cast into the flames. The Governor was advised to deposit the Stamp papers, as soon as they arrived from England, on board one of the King's ships on the Virginia station, if he wished to save them from destruction. The House of Assembly passed, in eloquent and emphatic terms, resolutions condemning the measure. And Daniel Dulany, Secretary of the province, published a pamphlet upon the same subject, which has survived the mass of controversial writings of that period, and remains a signal monument of lucid and energetic reasoning [17].

[17] It is entitled 'Considerations on the propriety of imposing taxes in the British Colonies, for the purpose of raising a revenue

Upon the imposition of the fresh duties that were attempted to be levied in the American Colonies, under the administration of the Duke of Grafton, Maryland again shared the general indignation, and was foremost in concerting and executing those retaliatory measures which were avowedly designed to cripple the commerce of the Mother-country [18].

The Proclamation and Vestry Act.

In the midst of these disputes, arose others of a local character, involving the same principles, and aggravating the conflict that was at hand. They deserve to be considered in this work, for they affected, directly and seriously, the temporal fortunes of the Church in Maryland. I mean the disputes connected with the Proclamation and Vestry Act. The law of 1763, which, we have seen, reduced the amount to be received by the Clergyman of each Parish from 40 lbs. of tobacco per poll to 30, was only a clause of a general Act 'for amending the staple of tobacco;' and in the same Act were other clauses, regulating the amount of fees which it had been the practice of officers in the province to receive in lieu of fixed salaries. The operation of the Act had been limited to seven years; and, in 1770, when it was brought up for renewal, a difference arose between the two Houses upon the subject; the Upper House consisting of many who filled public offices in the province, and were interested in maintaining a high amount of fees; the Lower House consisting of those who were not less strongly interested in reducing the amount. The Assembly was prorogued, without having come to any resolution

by Act of Parliament.' It was published (without his name) at Annapolis, Oct. 14, 1765.

[18] McMahon's History of Maryland, i. 337—380.

respecting it. Upon this, the Governor thought fit to issue a proclamation, enjoining a continuance of the payment of fees, according to the rates prescribed by the Act of 1763; a system which the Lower House had refused to sanction. Finding that they were now commanded to do, in obedience to the simple fiat of the Governor, what their own deliberations had taught them to reject, its members directed all their energies to counteract the effects of his proceeding. As soon as they were convened, in the following year, they addressed the Governor, declaring that the right of taxation, of which he had assumed the exercise, was vested in the Assembly alone, and urging him to recall his proclamation. The Governor refused compliance with their prayer. The Assembly persisted in pressing it; and another prorogation was the result. This was followed, in 1773, by a new election; and the return then made of a Lower House, whose members were all fully determined to resist the course which the Governor thought it his duty to pursue, was no insignificant proof of the support which the great mass of the people were ready to give to them [19].

Consequent disputes respecting the fees of secular offices,

But the same course of events which And the

[19] Ib. 380—397. Among the various writers, who took part in the controversy caused by the Proclamation Act, one of the most distinguished was Dulany, whose opposition to the Stamp Act has been noticed above. Upon the present occasion, his personal interest, as Provincial Secretary, was identified with the cause of which he was the advocate; and the reproach to which he was thereby exposed, of course weakened the effect of his arguments. But I do not find that any case was made out against him, even by his bitterest opponents, that he was actuated by unworthy motives.

stipends of the Clergy.

had left the secular officers of the province without their fees,—save such as the Governor might succeed in procuring for them under the precarious authority of his proclamation,—deprived the Clergy also of the specific endowments which hitherto had never failed to be provided for them. It was judged right, therefore, that they should fall back upon the Act of 1701-2, with reference to which all subsequent Acts had been framed. But, since the provisions of this Act gave to the Clergy a larger income, and left upon the Colony a heavier burden, than that which had been recently allowed by its legislature, it was not likely that the people would now submit to its operation. Accordingly, against the Vestry Act, —under which title the obnoxious demands of the Clergy claimed to be enforced,—sprang up an opposition, as obstinate and bitter as that which had been set in array against the proclamation. The general plea which had been advanced before, that the Act of 1701-2 had never received the sanction of the home authorities, was now revived, and supported by strong arguments. It was contended that the Maryland House of Delegates who passed the Act, March 16, 1701-2, had been chosen under writs of election, issued in the name of William III.; the government of the Colony being, at that time, vested in the Crown. But, since William had died on the 8th of that month, the authority of the House of Delegates was *ipso facto* void, at the very time of their passing this Act; and, unless its provisions had been confirmed by another House chosen under new writs, issued by his successor, they could not have the force of law. No such confirmation was ever made. And, consequently,—so argued its opponents,—the Act itself had always been a nullity.

Temporary compromise of disputes arising out of the Vestry Act.

Into the particulars of the controversy thus created, and waged on both sides, for three years, with the greatest ability and zeal, it were needless now to enter. Suffice it to say, that, at the end of that period, it only ceased in consequence of the necessity, felt and acknowledged by all parties, of having some public system whereby the inspection of tobacco, which continued to be the currency of the province, might be regulated. A compromise was accordingly made, by which—reserving for future consideration the validity of the Act of 1701-2,—another Act was, in the mean time, allowed to pass, fixing the poll tax for the Clergy at 30 lbs. of tobacco, or at an equivalent money payment of four shillings. I need hardly remark, that, before any adjudication upon the disputed law could be arrived at, the progress and results of the American Revolution made all further proceedings connected with the enquiry superfluous.

Exaggerated report of the incomes of the Clergy.

The only point connected with the above dispute, to which I think it necessary to direct attention for a moment is, what I believe to be exaggerated reports then circulated of the incomes of the Clergy. The general prevalence of such reports added greatly to the opposition which the Clergy had to encounter; and it becomes, therefore, a question of historical interest to learn how far they may be regarded as correct. The only authority for them, as far as I have been able to learn, is a statement in Eddis's Letters from Maryland. McMahon, for example, says, that

> There were, at this period, forty-five Parishes in the province, and the value of the benefices in these was continually increasing with the population. The revenues of the benefice in the Parish of

All Saints, in Frederick county, were then estimated to amount to £1000 sterling per annum; and the endowments of many others were ample, and on the increase.

Hawks also admits, that

The livings in some of these Parishes were very large. In some instances, they were worth £1000 sterling. From a list now before us, made after the reduction of the livings one-fourth, we find that there were but three under £100, and the residue ranged from that amount up to £500[20].

Counter-statement by Jonathan Boucher.

Both these writers cite Eddis as their sole authority; and, if his testimony is to be regarded as conclusive, the objection based upon it is irresistible. It is only right, therefore, to add, that a very different testimony is given by a witness perhaps not less competent than Eddis. One of the agitators upon this question, alluding, probably, to the Parish spoken of by McMahon, had described it, in terms evidently designed to insult and vilify all orders in the Church, as an 'object of envy to an English Bishop.' And Boucher, of whose services in the Virginia Church I have already spoken, having since been appointed to a Parish in Maryland, felt it his duty to animadvert upon these words, and to refute the charge which they were intended to convey. He admits that the endowments of the particular Parish in question were unduly large; but goes on to say,

That one excepted, there is hardly another which produces to the incumbent an income equal to that of an attorney in tolerable practice. And even of that one, it is unfair to judge by the reported number of taxables. Between the list of taxables, as set down in the sheriff's books, and what the incumbent actually receives, it is well known there is a wide difference.

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[20] McMahon, i. 398; Hawks, 282, 283.

He then enters upon a wider consideration of the question, and thus expresses his sentiments upon it:

However much the revenue of the Church is magnified, a fair statement of her receipts would show you, that the aggregate or sum total of her estate is inadequate to the maintenance of a competent number of reputable clergymen. We have but forty-four beneficed clergymen; and even in this our infant state twice that number would be inadequate to the exigencies of the province. As we increase in population, the number of our Parishes and Churches should also be increased; for it never can be thought that religious instruction is sufficiently communicated till every man, who is so disposed, may have it in his power, with his family, conveniently to attend Divine Service at the least once in every week. Every Parish is too large as long as there is a parishioner distant more than four or five miles from a Church where there is service every Sunday; but, at present, most of our Parishes have two Churches, in which duty is alternately performed every other Sunday. In several Parishes there are three Churches; and, of course, service only once in three weeks. However indisposed, in general, to hasty reforms, I cannot but allow that this is a case which calls loudly for reformation; and the obvious means to redress the grievance is to divide such Parishes, and, out of one overgrown Parish, to form two or three that are more compact and manageable. Much has been said of the drudgery which some officiating Curates in England undergo. But what are their labours and their toils compared with those of a conscientious incumbent of Virginia or Maryland; who, besides occasional duties, which are oftentimes of a kind unknown in England, and lie wide and far from his home, can rarely attend one of his Churches without first riding perhaps ten or twenty miles[21]?

His part in the disputes

Boucher had not been long in Mary-

[21] Boucher's Discourses, 236, 237. In noticing these Discourses (p. 155, *ante*), I have called attention to the candour and generosity which mark the dedication of them by Boucher to Washington. Let me here add, upon the authority of some private letters furnished to Hawks by Mr. Maury (Maryland, p. 274), that this Dedication was acknowledged by Washington in the same spirit.

of Maryland.

land, when he found himself thus engaged in its disputes. But he shrank not from the trials which these brought with them, and displayed the same energy of character which had been so conspicuous in Virginia. He is described, by writers who differ from him the most widely, as having been, 'in intellect a formidable opponent[22];' and, although his side was that of the unpopular and discomfited minority, I find him always spoken of, in the pamphlets of the day, in terms of respectful regard. The character of his opinions may best be learnt from the Discourses published by him upon his return to England. He preached all but the first three whilst he was in Maryland, either at the Church of St. Anne, in Annapolis, to which he was first presented, or at the Lower Church in the Parish of Queen Anne, in Prince George's county, to which he was afterwards removed. They often touch, therefore, as might be expected, upon the topics which I have described in the present chapter as creating or aggravating the trials of the Church in this Colony; and exhibit an intimate and experimental knowledge of the difficulties which beset her.

He becomes the object of popular attack.

The perfect freedom from all reserve, the manly candour, and the vigorous eloquence with which, from his pulpit in Virginia and Maryland, he had avowed doctrines which he believed essential to the well-being of the Church of Christ, marked him out, in the progress of the present conflict, as an especial object of attack by its enemies. He thus refers, in the last Sermon ever preached by him in the Colony, to the fierceness of their hostility,

[22] McMahon, i. 400.

and to the spirit with which he had endeavoured to meet them:

It was my misfortune to be first known to you in these unsettled times. Pains were taken to prejudice you against me, even before you saw me. Many of you must remember, as I for ever shall, how, on my coming to take possession of my living, *the doors were shut*, and I was, for some time, forcibly kept out of the Church, to which I had every equitable as well as legal claim; nor can you have forgotten how near I was, on that memorable day, experiencing the fate of St. Stephen. The end aimed at by such violence, which then, at least, could not have been merited, is now obvious. If you listened to my doctrines, you could no longer be the disciples of the Sanballats and Tobiahs, who have at length, step by step, led you to the very brink of rebellion. Insignificant therefore as I am, and am contented to be deemed, at least by such men, it became of some moment to them to discredit me with you. That I wished to be acceptable to you, that I have, by all fair and honourable means, studied to gain your good will, I appeal to the great Searcher of hearts, *who knows that I lie not.* That I have missed of my aim, none of you, alas! is so happy as not to know; and if it be through my own fault that my preferment among you, instead of being productive of permanent happiness, as I fondly hoped it would be, has become one of the heaviest calamities that ever befel me, even my enemies must be forced to allow that my faults cannot well have been greater than my sufferings have also been [23].

Formation of his opinions.

When the question of the Stamp Act first engaged the attention of the Colonies, Boucher had shared the opinions of the majority, and was a party to the opposition which had been directed, with such vigour, against its introduction. In the progress of the dispute, his opinions became changed, and with them his line of conduct. The terms in which he alludes to this fact, in the same Sermon, are worthy of remark:

I have endeavoured to weigh the great and important question

[23] Boucher's Discourses, 591.

now, alas! put to the bloody arbitrament of the sword, with all the diligence, accuracy, and sincerity of which I am capable. I undertook the enquiry with all the usual prepossessions in favour of the opinions which were popular. My interest evidently lay in my continuing to think, as many others (as wise and good as I can pretend to be) with whom I am happy to live in habits of friendship are contented to think. Ruin and misery seemed to stare me in the face, if I took a contrary course. Heretofore I had thought but little on such subjects. Contented to swim with the stream, I hastily, and with but little reflection, embraced those doctrines which are most flattering to human pride, and most natural to a youthful mind. Like the Armenian mentioned in Xenophon, 'I thought it a noble thing both to be free myself, and to leave liberty to my children.' And mistaking the impostor Licentiousness, the enemy of law, for that constitutional liberty, the child of law, and her surest defence, I joined a giddy and dangerous multitude in declaiming, as loud as the loudest, in behalf of liberty and against tyranny. With them, though like the *confused assemblies* at Ephesus, *the more part* of us *knew not wherefore we were come together*, I too bowed at the altar of Liberty, and sacrificed to this idol of our groves, *upon the high mountains, and upon the hills, and under every green tree*[24].

His firmness in maintaining them,

The man who could thus speak, in the face of a people, of whom the greater part were enthusiastic advocates of the principles which he denounced as false, was, of course, prepared to endure the utmost penalty which their rage and malice could inflict. We have seen, in the preceding chapter, the cruel severity which frequently accompanied the infliction of this penalty upon those of the Virginian Clergy who provoked it. The infuriated people of Maryland were not likely to exact it with less rigour. In fact, if a comparison were to be drawn between the manifestation of hostile feelings expressed in the va-

In spite of the hostility of the people.

[24] Ib. p. 590.

rious provinces of America, at that day, against the policy of the Mother-country, the acts of the people of Maryland would rank them among her most determined enemies. The tea-burning at Boston is a celebrated incident in the history of the rising conflict. But, at Annapolis, a few months afterwards, when a vessel arrived there with a cargo of the same 'detestable weed,' the citizens not only resolved that the cargo should be burnt, and a public apology made by those to whom it was consigned, but that the vessel also should be destroyed in the flames which consumed the cargo, and that the hands of the owner himself should kindle them. This was accordingly done, in the presence of a vast concourse of spectators [25]. And the spectacle was well fitted to put an end to all further schemes of resistance against the sovereign will of the people.

But, let the dangers have been what they might, Boucher would not hold his peace, where duty required him to speak. In the year following this occurrence,—every hour in the interval having served but to exasperate the popular feeling still more,—a day had been appointed for public fasting and prayer. Boucher had chosen as his text for the Sermon, which he meant to preach upon the occasion, the following passage from Nehemiah, vi. 10, 11: "Afterward I came unto the house of Shemaiah the son of Delaiah the son of Mehetabeel, who was shut up; and he said, Let us meet together in the house of God, within the temple, and let us shut the doors of the temple: for they will come to slay thee; yea, in the night will they come to slay thee. And I said, Should such a

[25] McMahon's Maryland, i. 409.

man as I flee? and who is there, that, being as I am, would go into the temple to save his life? I will not go in." The terms of this text, taken in connexion with the known opinions of the preacher, were regarded by the crowd who, from curiosity, or some worse motive, had been attracted to his Church upon that day, as sufficient to justify their instant and violent interruption of his Sermon. They rose in tumultuous uproar, and, with bitterest insults and reproaches, made it impossible for him to proceed. So far his adversaries, upon that day, which was a Thursday, gained a miserable triumph[26]. But, upon the following Sunday, Boucher, nothing daunted by what had occurred, ascended his pulpit once more; recited the same verses from Nehemiah; and, having briefly alluded to the unseemly interruption to which he had been exposed, went on to deliver the exposition of the text which he had prepared for the preceding Thursday. The exposition is marked throughout by the same powers of sagacious criticism, of vigorous reasoning, and of close and cogent application, which characterise the great body of his Discourses. And, having enforced upon his hearers those practical lessons which appeared needful for them to learn from the history of Nehemiah, he adverts to the difficulties which threatened his own person at that moment, and to the course which it was his determination to follow.

Tumult in his Church, on a Fast-Day.

Boucher's Sermon on the next Sunday.

His determination to pray for the King.

In this part of his Sermon occurs a very striking passage. Information had been privately conveyed to him by a friend,

[26] Boucher's Discourses, 562.

whose political opinions were opposite to his own, that, unless he would 'forbear to pray for the King,' his people were 'to hear' him 'neither pray nor preach any longer.' Having related this information, which (he adds) had been 'communicated, no doubt, from motives of good will and humanity,' Boucher thus pronounces his decision respecting it:

> No intimation could possibly have been less welcome to me. Distressing, however, as the dilemma confessedly is, it is not one that requires or will admit of a moment's hesitation. Entertaining all due respect for my ordination vows, I am firm in my resolution, whilst I pray in public at all, to conform to the unmutilated Liturgy of my Church; and reverencing the injunction of an Apostle, I will continue to *pray for the King and all that are in authority under him;* and I will do so, not only because I am so commanded, but that, as this Apostle adds, we may continue to *lead quiet and peaceable lives in all godliness and honesty.* Inclination, as well as duty, confirms me in my purpose. *As long as I live*, therefore, yea, whilst *I have my being*, will I, with Zadok the priest, and Nathan the prophet, proclaim, *God save the King*[27].

Boucher compelled, with all other Loyalists, to return to England.

It was no ordinary sacrifice which Boucher here avowed his determination to make; for, as he reminds his hearers in the same Sermon, although born in England, America had been the country of his adoption. He had married there; his connexions and friends, and whatsoever property he possessed, were all to be found there; and, unless compelled to flee from it, he had neither the wish nor the intention to do so[28]. But the necessity soon came. The organisation of the Council of Safety, and the powers whereby they and the Convention were authorised to imprison or banish all persons charged with

[27] Ib. 588.

[28] Ib. 593.

any act which tended 'to disunite the inhabitants of the province in their opposition,' left to Boucher, and all who shared his opinions, no other course save that of an immediate return to England; and even that was not always to be accomplished without great risk. The personal popularity, indeed, of Governor Eden, saved him at first from the indignities to which officers, acting under the King's authority, were elsewhere subject. But, upon the discovery of a correspondence between him and Lord George Germaine, a member of the English ministry at that time,—although it contained nothing which could excite any reasonable jealousy or alarm,—he was forthwith compelled to embark for England[29]. Under these circumstances, it was quite evident that Maryland was no longer a safe home for any Loyalist.

Treatment of the Methodists.

The treatment of the Methodists in Maryland, at this juncture, was the same with that which they experienced in Virginia, and arose from the same cause, their supposed sympathy with the Church. In Maryland, this sympathy was open and avowed. They refused to take the oath of allegiance to the United States, and were content to pay the penalty of fine and imprisonment rather than forego their conscientious conviction of the illegality of the oath[30].

Of the subsequent fortunes of the Church in Maryland, I must leave it to others to speak. The pages of Dr. Hawks, to which I have been greatly indebted for the information which I have endeavoured to lay before

[29] McMahon's Maryland, i. 434—436, *note*. It is added, that, at the close of the war, Eden returned to Maryland to seek the restitution of his property, and there died.

[30] Hawks's Maryland, 285.

the reader thus far[31], will be found to supply ample materials, down to the end of the period which he professes to review; and, from that time forward, the Journals of its Convention bear abundant testimony to the progress which it has made. Encumbered by evils the same in kind with those which cast reproach upon the Virginia Church, the Church in Maryland was dragged down with her in the same temporal ruin. But both have been lifted up again from the dust, putting forth the strong energies of that life which has ever been within them, and which not all the perverse and selfish counsels of this world's policy could extinguish[32].

[31] The source from which Dr. Hawks has derived his information of the History of the Church in Maryland, during the period comprised in the present chapter, is derived almost entirely from the Fulham MSS. and those belonging to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. Having carefully examined the same MSS. myself, I can bear testimony to the fidelity of Hawks's references. I have forborne to trouble the reader with constant citations from these MSS.; and take, therefore, this opportunity of saying, that, except where other references are made, the information which has been here supplied is drawn from the authorities which Hawks has enumerated, pp. 118—286.

[32] The Bishops of Maryland have been—

Dr. Claggett, consecrated, 1792.
Dr. Kemp, „ 1814.
Dr. Stone, „ 1830.

The present Bishop is Dr. Whittingham, consecrated 1840; and the statistics of the Diocese, as given in the Church Almanack for 1853, are,—Clergy, 117; Baptisms,—Adults, 69, Infants, 1044, not specified, 621 = 1734; Confirmed, 264; Communicants (added 567), 7442; Marriages, 465; Burials, 935; Sunday School Teachers, 329; Scholars, 2257; Candidates for Orders, 18; Churches consecrated, 4; Corner-stones laid, 2; Ordinations,—Deacons, 2, Priests, 3; Contributions, 171,412 dollars.

CHAPTER XXVI.

PROCEEDINGS IN NORTH AMERICA OF THE SOCIETY FOR THE PROPAGATION OF THE GOSPEL IN FOREIGN PARTS, FROM THE BEGINNING OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY TO THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE.

A.D. 1700—1776.

THE reasons which made it necessary for me to give, in the two preceding chapters, a separate history of the Church of England in Virginia and Maryland, during the period now under review, do not apply, as I have said, to the position which she occupied at the same time in any other territory of North America. Her difficulties and her labours in those territories are to be learnt, not as in the two former instances, from an examination of the terms of Colonial Charters, or of the proceedings of Colonial Governors and Assemblies, and of the hindrances thereby cast in the way of her ministrations; but from the records which have come down to us of the work of her individual Missionaries.

Proceedings of the Society for the Propagation

I have described the nature of that work, begun and carried on in the face of heaviest discouragement, towards the end of the

17th century, in Pennsylvania, New York, New England, and Carolina[1]. In tracing the prosecution of it by them and others, in the same and the adjoining provinces, during the next century, our attention will of necessity be directed chiefly to the operations of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts. The first labour of the Society was to obtain accurate information, with respect to the various provinces, and the openings presented in each for the introduction of the services of the Church of England. Documents reciting many important particulars upon these points were sent home by Governors Dudley, Morris, and Heathcote; and the substance of these, as given by Humphreys, an early Secretary of the Society, is supplied in the Appendix to the present Volume[2]. I dwell not further, in this place, upon the statistical information thus furnished; because, howsoever numerous and formidable the obstructions which, it shows, existed at that time in the way of the Church of England, such a result is nothing more than the effect of those unceasing adverse influences, whose origin and progress it has been one main business of this work to describe. Our present concern is with the measures adopted by the Society to meet these difficulties. It would have been a vain

of the Gospel in Foreign Parts.

[1] Vol. ii. 422—465.

[2] See Appendix, No. I. The present indefatigable Secretary, Mr. Hawkins, has published, in his Historical Notices, &c., 23—25, one of the above documents, the Memorial of Col. Dudley, Governor of N. England. The acknowledgment made therein of the extent to which education had been carried on in Maine, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, and Connecticut, is worthy of remark, as proving the successful operation of the law for providing schoolmasters, which those Colonies passed, at an early period of their existence. See Vol. ii. 183.

expenditure of zeal and energy, to have attempted to organise plans of operation among a people so unwilling to bear a part in them, unless pains were first taken to disarm their prejudices and conciliate their favour.

Travelling Missionaries.

The Society resolved, accordingly, to send forth, in the first instance, Missionaries, who should travel throughout the various Colonies of North America; and, by the diligent and orderly celebration of her public services, by preaching the Word of God, and administering the Sacraments of Christ's ordinance, vindicate the doctrines and discipline of the Church of England from the reproach which her calumniators in those provinces had cast upon her; and prove, that, in very deed, she was a witness and keeper of saving truth. An intimate knowledge of the prominent points of controversy between her and the crowds of the English Non-conformist settlers, as well of the places in which, and of the persons among whom, unfavourable representations of her had been circulated, was of course required for the execution of this arduous work. And the possession of this knowledge by George Keith, added to his well-known ability and zeal and energy, led probably to the selection of him by the Society, as one of its first travelling Missionaries.

George Keith. His previous career, as a member of the Society of Friends.

The previous career of George Keith had been a strange and chequered one. A native of Aberdeen, and brought up at its University, with Gilbert Burnet,—who was a few years his junior, and attained afterwards so conspicuous a rank among the Clergy of the Church of England,—Keith had been at first a Presbyterian. He afterwards became a member of the Society of Friends; and, at a time when they were

assailed on every side with fiercest persecution, stood forward as their intrepid and successful champion. His writings, in defence of their religious tenets, were marked by acute reasoning and copious learning. As a preacher, also, he was acceptable in all their congregations. America had been for many years the land of his adoption; and his first residence was at Monmouth in New Jersey. As surveyor-general of that province, he was employed, in 1687, to draw the boundary line between its eastern and western divisions. Two years afterwards, he removed to Pennsylvania, having agreed to undertake the charge of the Friends' Public School, then first established in that city[3]. But the differences of opinion touching many important points of doctrine and of practice, which had been for some time growing up between the Friends and himself, became so great, as to lead, within little more than a year later, not only to his removal from the office of Schoolmaster, but to his public condemnation and rejection by the Society which had appointed him. Having openly charged them with slackness of discipline, and with violation of their religious profession by accepting in their own persons the secular office of magistrate, he proceeded further to resist the authority of their tribunals. For this resistance he was brought to trial, and convicted in the penalty of five pounds, which was afterwards remitted[4]. Whether this forbearance arose from any feeling on the part of his Judges that their authority was questionable, or from a hope that he might thereby be induced to

He settles in New Jersey,

And afterwards in Pennsylvania.

Opposes the Quakers.

[3] Proud's History of Pennsylvania, i. 345.

[4] Bancroft's History of the United States, iii. 38.

change his course, it is impossible now to determine. Certain it is, that Keith soon proceeded to claim for himself and his adherents, the right to be regarded as the only true Quakers, and charged all who opposed him with apostacy. No other course therefore remained for them, but publicly to disavow all connexion with him. They had attempted, at different meetings, to dissuade him by their admonitions, from persevering in his attacks. But Keith answered them by saying that 'he trampled their judgment under his feet as dirt.' He set up a separate meeting in Pennsylvania; and, being supported by many who are described as 'men of rank, character, and reputation, in these provinces, and divers of them great preachers and much followed[5],' spread the greatest alarm and confusion through the whole body. 'A Declaration, or Testimony of Denial' was given forth against him at a public meeting of the Friends in Philadelphia, April 20, 1692, and confirmed by the General Meeting at Burlington a few months afterwards. Its language of sorrow and condemnation proves the severity of the blow inflicted upon them by his secession, and affords a strange contrast to the contemptuous and vilifying tone in which they afterwards affected to speak of it. The lamentation of David over Saul and Jonathan is not deemed by the Friends an overstrained description of their own feelings, as they grieve over the 'mighty man' who had then fallen in their own ranks. As long as he had walked 'in the counsel of God, and was little in his own eyes,' they confess that his 'bow' had abided 'in strength,' and that his 'sword' had 'returned not empty from the fat

Their 'Testimony' against him.

[5] Proud's History of Pennsylvania, i. 369, *note*.

of the enemies of God.'—'Oh, how lovely (they exclaim) wert thou, in that day when His beauty was upon thee, and when His comeliness covered thee!" And then, taking up the words of the Apocalyptic message to the Church of Ephesus, they call upon him who had thus 'left his first love,' to remember from whence he was 'fallen, and repent, and do his first works.' In a similar strain, they proceed to set forth the number and enormity of the offences with which they charged him, and end with the solemn declaration that he could no longer be owned or received by them, there or elsewhere, until, by a public and hearty acknowledgment of his errors, he should have taken off the reproach which he had cast upon their body.

The 'Testimony' thus given against Keith by the Quakers in America was confirmed, in 1694, by the Yearly Meeting of their brethren in London[6]. But he remained unmoved. The grounds of his separation admitted not any change or compromise. He felt them to be impregnable; and was content, therefore, to bear all the contumely which enemies heaped upon him. He returned to England in the same year in which the judgment of the Quakers in London was delivered; and patiently and resolutely betook himself to the task of vindicating the course which he had pursued, and his determination still to adhere to it. The same line of reading and of argument which proved the Quaker doctrine to be erroneous convinced Keith that the Church of England, in her Reformation, was a true branch of the Universal Church of Christ. He sought, therefore,

He returns to England,

And enters

[6] Ib. 365—369, *note*.

into Communion with her Church.

to enter into communion with her, and was received. His exposition of her teaching, as exhibited in his larger and lesser Catechism, we have seen, was deemed so valuable, as to be the first book chosen for circulation by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, at one of its earliest meetings, in 1698-9. Other writings of his upon the same subject are still extant; one of which, published in 1700, and entitled 'Reasons for renouncing Quakerism, and entering into Communion with the Church of England,' deserves especial notice as a specimen of vigorous and lucid reasoning. In the same year, Keith was admitted into Holy Orders; and his 'Farewell Sermon preached at Turner's Hall, May the 5th, with his two initiating Sermons, on May the 12th, 1700, at St. George's, Butolph's Lane, by Billings-Gate,' give good proof of the faithful spirit in which he was prepared to enter upon the duties of the ministry. The favour with which Keith's writings were regarded by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge had doubtless brought him into frequent and friendly relation with Dr. Bray, one of its most distinguished members at that time. The sympathy manifested by Bray with all that concerned the welfare of the Church in America; his personal ministrations in Maryland; and the realisation, at this very time, of his long-cherished scheme to give greater effect to the operations of the Church of England in foreign parts, through the agency of a separate Society; must all have contributed to strengthen the relationship thus formed between him and Keith, and have led to the repeated interchange of communications of deepest interest to them both. The result of these was to convince Bray that no fitter man than Keith could be

found to execute the difficult work upon which the Society was, at that moment, about to enter. With this conviction, Bray commended him to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel; and the Society showed its just appreciation of both by appointing Keith its first travelling Missionary.

Appointed travelling Missionary of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, with Mr. Gordon,

The Rev. Patrick Gordon was associated with Keith in the same office; and, on the 24th of April, 1702, they embarked on board the Centurion for Boston, where they arrived on the 11th of June following. Dudley, Governor of New England, and Morris, Governor of New Jersey, were passengers in the same ship; and Keith describes them both as kind and attentive, and animated with a sincere love for the services of the Church of England; joining in their daily celebration with the captain and other officers and seamen; and expressing the utmost readiness to uphold and extend the same in their respective provinces. The Chaplain also of the Centurion, John Talbot, expressed so deep an interest in the duties which were about to engage them, that Keith and Gordon wrote home, requesting that he might be summoned with them to the work. His instant appointment proved the readiness of the Society to comply with their request; and the zealous performance of his duties amply justified the choice. It was well that an addition should have been made thus early to the Society's first Missionaries; for Gordon was speedily carried off by illness. His career, brief as it was, had been long enough to win for him the respect and love alike of Churchmen and Dissenters; and Governor

And Mr. Talbot.

The death and character of Gordon.

Morris, in a letter to Archdeacon Beveridge, gives touching testimony to this effect[7].

The Mission of Keith and Talbot.

After the death of Gordon, Keith and Talbot set out from Boston through New England, and thence proceeded to New York, the Jerseys, Rhode Island, Connecticut, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, and North Carolina, a territory embracing the ten district governments which England had at that time in America, and extending in length about eight hundred miles. They were engaged, for nearly two years, in travelling twice through most of these provinces, and preaching in them 'oft again and again[8].' The people, for the most part, received them with friendly spirit; crowding to hear their Sermons; joining with them devoutly, as they read the Liturgy and administered the Sacraments of the Church; and entreating them to secure to themselves and to their children, through the medium of the Society which had sent them forth, the continued celebration of the same ordinances. Of the few ministers of the Church already settled at Boston, New York, Rhode Island, and Philadelphia[9], they both bear cheering testimony. Nicholson, also, the Governor of Virginia, is noticed by them for his zeal and energy in supporting the operations of the Church[10]; enabling the Clergy, at his own charge, to meet together at New York, and deliberate with Keith and Talbot upon the best means of discharging the trust committed to them; and freely extending to them every other aid within his reach for its efficient execution. The few Churches already built in the Colonies north of Mary-

[7] Hawkins, 29—31.

[8] Keith's Account, &c.

[9] See Vol. ii. 436—440.

[10] See p. 111, *note, ante.*

land, were readily opened to them; and their exhortations quickened the exertions of the people to build more. Thus Talbot, writing from Philadelphia, Sept. 1, 1703, says,

Impulse given by them to Church building.

> We have gathered several hundreds together for the Church of England, and what is more, to build houses for her service. There are four or five going forward now in this province and the next. That at Burlington is almost finished. Mr. Keith preached the first sermon in it before my Lord Cornbury. Churches are going up amain, where there were never any before. They are going to build three at North Carolina;—and three more in these lower counties about Newcastle, besides those I hope at Chester, Burlington, and Amboy [11].

Their ministrations were not confined to persons or places in outward communion with the Church of England. As one of their avowed objects was to persuade the Separatist to return to that communion, they availed themselves of every opportunity to plead with him in private; and, where leave was obtained to enter into his place of worship, renewed like arguments in public. The real grounds of difference, in many instances, proved to be so slight, that no impediment at all was found to the free and friendly interchange of their respective sentiments. Talbot, for example, in another letter, Nov. 24, 1702, thus writes:

Their ministry among Nonconformists.

> We preached in all churches where we came, and in several Dissenters' meetings, such as owned the Church of England to be their mother Church, and were willing to communicate with her, and submit to her bishops, if they had opportunity. I have baptized several persons whom Mr. Keith has brought over from Quakerism; and, indeed, in all places where we come, we find a great ripeness and inclination among all sorts of people to embrace the Gospel.

[11] Hawkins, p. 35.

Keith also, in his 'Narrative,' July 1, 1703, gives similar testimony:

At the Commencement at Cambridge, I had occasion to see many of the New England Independent Ministers there, and divers of them spoke very kindly to us, and invited us to their houses in our travels; particularly Mr. Shepherd, minister of Lin, and Mr. John Cotton, minister of Hampton. 10th July, we arrived at Hampton, and lodged at Mr. John Cotton's house, where we were kindly entertained by him several days, and had much free discourse with him about religious matters, and the Church of England, to which we found him very favourable, as also we found divers other ministers of New England. At Mr. Cotton's request, both I and Mr. Talbot preached in his pulpit to his parishioners in their meeting-house (which they do not commonly call a church), the one of us in the forenoon, and the other in the afternoon. I again, at Mr. Cotton's request, preached the Wednesday's lecture there; my text both days was Acts xxvi. 18; where was a great auditory both days.

19th. *Sunday.* I preached at Salisbury meeting-house, in the pulpit of Mr. Cushin, minister of that parish, at his request; my text was Phil. i. 12, 13; and so did Mr. Talbot, the one of us in the forenoon, the other in the afternoon, where also we had a great auditory, many coming to both places from neighbouring parishes purposely to hear us, and who were civil, and showed great satisfaction, and so did the minister, who kindly treated with us, and with whom we lodged that night, and whom we found in discourse very favourable to the Church of England [12].

Disputes with the Quakers.

The treatment which they met with from the Quakers was widely different. The reappearance of Keith in the country which had witnessed, ten years before, his opposition to, and separation from, the body of which he had been a most honoured member, could hardly fail to revive feelings of alarm and anger. Ever since he had ceased to belong to them, he had shown himself the fearless, unwearied, assailant of Quaker doctrines; and his pub-

[12] Ib. 33. 39, 40.

lications in England during the interval, especially his 'Answers to Robert Barclay,' proved him to be as able as he was zealous. To find such a man once more visiting in person the towns and villages with which he had been long familiar, and addressing their brethren with such success as to lead many of them gladly to receive that holy Baptism which they had once rejected, was to see the very stronghold of their safety placed in most imminent peril. It can hardly, therefore, excite surprise, that, when Keith entered into their meetings, and, after their own preachers had finished speaking, stood up to address them, they should have commanded him to be silent; or, that, when they found it impossible to make him obey the command, they should have hastily dismissed the assembly. Keith, however, was not to be daunted, or deterred from prosecuting what he believed to be the course of duty. If they interrupted his speech, he sat down until he could gain an opportunity of resuming it, and then, in firm yet gentle terms, strove to vindicate his teaching. If the people rose up and left him, he speedily gathered together other hearers, upon whom he urged the like arguments. And so the work went forward, not, indeed, every where with uniform success, but testifying for the most part the service rendered to the cause of truth by the courage and energy of Keith and his fellow-labourer.

Keith returns to England, and is appointed Rector of Edourton.

In the autumn of 1704, Keith returned home; and in the narrative of his 'Travels, Services, and Successes,' published that year, the reader will find abundant evidence of the arduous character of the work which he had passed through, and of the faithful spirit which had invariably sustained him in it. His

advanced age afforded little prospect of his being able to renew his labours; and, therefore, when the offer of the Rectory of Edburton in Sussex was made to him, we can readily understand the reasons which led him thankfully to devote to his Master's service, in that comparatively secluded portion of His wide harvest-field, the energies that yet remained to him. He still recognised, indeed, the duty which had so often drawn him into the rugged fields of controversy, and suffered not any opportunity to pass by unimproved. A remarkable instance of this is found in a Sermon preached by him 'at the Lecture in Lewes,' Sept. 4, 1707, upon 'The necessity of Faith, and of the Revealed Word of God to be the foundation of all divine and saving Faith.' The text is Heb. xi. 6: and the Sermon, as avowed in the title-page, is 'against the fundamental error of the Quakers; that the light within them, and within every man, is sufficient to their salvation without any thing else, whereby (as to themselves) they make void and destroy all revealed religion.' It is written with all the acuteness and vigour which distinguish the other writings of Keith; and exhibits him still animated with the same stedfast spirit which he had so frequently evinced in more conspicuous, though not more useful, scenes of duty. His bodily strength soon afterwards began to fail; and, on the 29th of March, 1716, appears the following entry in the Parish register: 'Then the Rev. Mr. Keith, Rector of Edburton, was buried[13].'

His Sermon at Lewes, in 1707.

His death.

[13] I am indebted for the above information to my friend, the Rev. J. C. F. Tuffnell, the present Rector of Edburton. The precise spot in which Keith was buried cannot now be traced. A stone of Sussex marble, Mr. Tuffnell informs me, is still in the Chancel,

Bancroft's unfair notice of Keith.

I have pointed out before the unfair notice by Bancroft of this remarkable man, when he says, that 'the unchanged Quaker, disowned by those who had cherished and advanced him, was soon left without a faction, and, tired of his position, made a true exposition of the strife by accepting an episcopal benefice[14].' I call attention again to this remark, in the present passage, that the reader may see how entirely void of foundation it is. Keith was undoubtedly 'disowned by those who had cherished and advanced him.' But the history which we have been tracing proves, that, howsoever dear to him the friends of his youth and manhood, the truth was dearer still; and, that, in defence of truth, he manfully turned away from the only earthly prospects of advancement open to him. It is not from the long series of his controversial and other valuable writings, during the ten years which intervened between his separation from the Quakers and his ordination in the Church of England, that we can infer that he was either 'left without a faction;' or that he was 'tired of his position.' And, certainly, the toils and dangers which he cheerfully encountered in the midst of his former opponents, whilst he was a Missionary of that Church, cannot be counted for a proof that he was influenced by any sordid or mercenary expectations. Had the distinguished historian of the United States been cognizant of these facts, I feel sure that he would not have attempted to cast the stigma of a dishonest hireling upon one who, in the evening, as in the noonday, of

which may perhaps protect his grave. But the inscription is effaced.

[14] See Vol. ii. 434, *note*.

his laborious life, approved himself a faithful, intrepid servant of God[15].

Sequel of Talbot's mission.

After Keith's departure from America, Talbot continued for a short time to discharge, in conjunction with a Mr. Sharpe, the duties of travelling Missionary, with a diligence and success of which his letters furnish abundant proof. In 1705, the inhabitants of Burlington, the capital of West Jersey, petitioned the Society that he might be settled among them, and, with the approval of the Bishop of London, Talbot took up his abode there[16]. The Church in which he ministered was that which, I

He is settled at St. Mary's (formerly St. Anne's), Burlington.

[15] I take this opportunity of warning the reader not to confound the George Keith, of whom I have spoken above, with another Clergyman of the same name, whom Noble, in his continuation of Granger's Biographical Dictionary of England, iii. 144, describes 'as a disgrace to the clerical character,' and excommunicated by the Bp. of London, at May Fair Chapel, for the prominent part which he took in the celebration of clandestine marriages. I have noted this practice as the reproach of the Church and nation, at the beginning of the last century; and no doubt the George Keith, whom Noble describes, was one of its most notorious agents. But, although bearing the same name with the first travelling Missionary of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, and, like him, a native of Scotland, and living at the same period, the points of difference are many and clear. The one left Scotland as a Quaker; the other, Noble says, was 'driven from Scotland for his attachment to Episcopacy.' The one passed the greater part of his life in America; the other, in London. The one was distinguished for his burning zeal; the other for his scandalous profligacy. The one was honoured and beloved by the Church Domestic and the Church Colonial; the other publicly disgraced and excommunicated by his Bishop. The one died in 1716, in the Parish of which he was Rector, when he was 71 years old; the other, according to Noble's account, survived till 1735; when he had attained his 89th year.

[16] Hawkins, 142; Humphreys, 182.

have said, was nearly finished when Keith first preached in it before Lord Cornbury. It was called in the first Charter, St. Anne's, after the name of the Queen; but, afterwards, when a more ample Charter was granted, the name was changed to St. Mary's, in commemoration of the day upon which its foundation-stone had been laid, March 25, 1703. Many contributions were soon transmitted to it from England; vessels for the celebration of the holy communion from Queen Anne; and a legacy of £100 from Frampton, of whom I have before spoken, as having been, in early life, Chaplain at Aleppo, and afterwards Bishop of Gloucester[17]. This last sum was laid out, at the instance of Dame Katherine Boevey, of Flaxley, in Gloucestershire, herself a former benefactress to this Church, in the purchase of a house and land for its future support. Another legacy also, of 250 acres of land, was given for the same purpose, in 1710, by Mr. Thomas Leicester. The benefit of these bequests is enjoyed to this day[18].

Contributions to the Church.

The settlement of Talbot in Burlington gave him the opportunity again to observe the generous and self-denying spirit displayed by Nicholson, whilst he had been Lieutenant-governor, and drew from him the ready testimony that

His character of Nicholson.

[17] See Vol. ii. 272. Although, as I have said in the foregoing passage, Bp. Frampton was content to suffer in his own perso nthe consequences of being a Non-juror, he had no wish to estrange himself from the Church. He was an habitual attendant at divine service in the Parish in which he lived; frequently catechizing the children, and expounding the Sermon which had been preached by the Clergyman of the Parish. He died in 1708, at the age of 86, and was buried at Standish, in his former Diocese.—Lathbury's Hist. of the Nonjurors, 203.

[18] Humphreys, 183, 184; Bp. Doane's Sermons, 154.

Nicholson was indeed 'a true son, or rather nursing-father, of the Church of England in America [19].'

His earnest desire for the appointment of a Bishop in America.

The progress of Talbot's ministry led him to feel more and more deeply the necessity of having a resident Bishop in the Colonies of North America. That he had always been sensible of this want, and given strong expression to his feeling, is evident from the emphatic sentence to that effect, transferred from one of his earliest private letters to the first public Report of the Society, and from the proposal afterwards made by him respecting the selection of Lillingston for the office of Suffragan. The memorial, also, from the Church at Burlington to Queen Anne, praying for the appointment of a Bishop [20], was taken to England by Talbot in person, in order that he might the better help to promote its prayer. A Parish in Gloucestershire, of which he had once been incumbent, had been given away to another during his absence; but, in his allusion to that fact, he betrays not any regret that he should be debarred from resuming his home duties, or any wish that another arrangement might have been made. He expresses only his resolution, that, as God had 'so blest his labours and travels abroad, he would, by His grace, return, the sooner the better;' and adds his firm belief that he would still be encouraged by the 'famous Society,' in whose service he had laboured thus far, and which had 'done more in four years for America than ever was done before [21].'

He visits England for the purpose of promoting it,

And returns.

Returning in the autumn of 1707, he landed at Marblehead, in Massachusetts,

[19] Hawkins, 142.

[20] See p. 73, *ante*.

[21] Hawkins, 143.

and, by his preaching, stirred up the people to extend in various quarters the work of Church building. Thence proceeding to Rhode Island, Long Island, and Staten Island, he laboured with like success until the winter broke up. He then visited Amboy and Elizabethtown, the excellent Pastor of which places, Mr. Brooke, had lately died; 'an able and diligent missioner (says Talbot) as ever came over.' In the spring of 1708, he found himself once more in the bosom of his own people; but the resumption of his duties among them was, to his sorrow and theirs, sorely interrupted by the necessity of visiting other towns and villages in the province. 'I am forced (he says) to turn itinerant again, for the care of all the churches from East to West Jersey is upon me[22].' The chief objects of his care were the Churches at New Bristol, on the opposite side of the Delaware, and Hopewell and Maidenhead; all of which, in spite of frequent sickness, he visited with affectionate and diligent care[23]. It was a heavy burden for a man to bear single-handed, yet he drew not back from it.

His labours and difficulties.

The hope of seeing effectual relief come at last cheered and invigorated him, when he was ready to fail. In a letter, written June 30, 1709, he says,

> I am glad to find by the President's letter, that the members of the Honourable Society are convinced that a head is necessary to the body, but if he don't make haste, he will come too late.—Is it not strange, that so many islands should be inhabited by Protestants, so many provinces planted by them, so many hundred thousand souls born and bred up here in America; but of all the kings, princes, and governors, all the bishops and archbishops that have

[22] Ib. 144.

[23] Humphreys, 185, 186; Bp. Doane's Sermons, p. 129, *note*.

been since the Reformation, they never sent any here to propagate the Gospel,—I say to propagate it by imparting some spiritual gifts by ordination or confirmation [24]?

The joy expressed by Talbot in the above passage, as he looked forward to the realisation of his long cherished hope, was speedily dispelled. The anomalous state of things, which he had deemed so strange, and a reproach to the Reformed Church, was again suffered to remain. Still Talbot persevered in his work. He succeeded in building three Churches in West Jersey, before the year 1714, hoping that ministers might be sent out from England, to make them so many centres of sanctifying truth. And bitter disappointment was it for him to find that none came. Nor was this all. Some even of his brethren, who had been appointed to neighbouring cures, were tempted, by reason of the scanty provision which they received, to abandon them for others which held out more inviting prospects. Talbot writes upon this subject, in May, 1718, with a warmth which may well be pardoned.

All your Missioners hereabouts are going to Maryland for the sake of themselves, their wives, and their children. For my part, I cannot desert this poor flock that I have gathered, nor will I, if I have neither money, credit, nor tobacco. But, if I had known as much as I do now, that the Society were not able, for their parts, to send neither bishop, priest, nor deacon, lecturer, nor catechist, I would never have put the people in these parts to the charge and trouble of building churches; nay, now they must be stalls or stables for Quakers' horses, when they come to market or meeting [25].

The repeated disappointments and long-continued toil which Talbot had endured, at length produced their effect. Worn out with fatigue, he obtained per-

[24] Hawkins, 144.

[25] Ib. 144—146.

mission to return home. He had asked it some years before; but either did not then receive it, or, which is more probable, did not avail himself of it until the year 1719-20, when he returned to England; and lived, for a short time, upon the interest of Archbishop Tenison's legacy, which, until it could be applied to the object designed by that prelate, was held by the Society for the relief of its retired Missionaries [26]. He soon returned to New Jersey; but, I regret to say, was not found much longer abiding in the ranks in which he had served so zealously as a good soldier of Jesus Christ. An accusation, indeed, had been preferred against him some years before (1715) by Governor Hunter, of sympathising with the Jacobite enemies of the English government. It was denied in emphatic and indignant terms by Talbot himself, as well as by his Churchwardens and Vestry at Burlington, who were charged with sharing his sentiments. And that the denial was then made upon just grounds, there can be no doubt; for Talbot's character appears fully to merit the eulogy bestowed upon him by Hawks, 'that the Society never had a more honest, fearless, and laborious missionary [27].' But as little can it be doubted, that the political events of that day, and the continued failure, which Talbot witnessed, of the efforts of the Church of England to make herself known in her integrity abroad, tempted him afterwards to regard, through a very different medium, the position which he believed of right belonged to her. The influence of the Nonjuring schism was gradually brought to bear upon him; and,

He revisits England.

His altered feelings.

[26] See p. 71, *ante;* Hawkins, 146.

[27] Ib. 145; Hawks's Maryland, 182.

weaning his affections from those his spiritual fathers and brethren with whom he had been joined in closest brotherhood, it led him to take for his associate, in their stead, a man whose infuriated party spirit had already betrayed him into the worst excesses. Welton, formerly Rector of Whitechapel, and now Pastor of a Nonjuring congregation, whose insult of Kennett I have noticed[28], became his counsellor; and in 1722, both were consecrated to the Episcopal office by the Nonjurors, in spite of the disapproval of the rest of that body[29]. Welton returned with Talbot to America, and went to Philadelphia, whilst Talbot remained in New Jersey; from which place authentic reports soon came home to the Society of acts done by him, which, however consistent with the creed of the Nonjuror, could of course not be permitted to its Missionaries. A refusal to pray in public for the person and family of George I., and to take the oaths of obedience to his authority, were the offences with which Talbot was charged. And, receiving not from him any denial of their truth, the Society was constrained at once to remove him from his post[30]. Whether he performed any Episcopal acts in New Jersey, is very doubtful. He certainly abstained from making any public parade of them[31]. But, howsoever unobtrusively the functions of the Episcopal office may have been discharged, the assumption of it in such a manner, and at such a time, had it continued, could not

Consecrated a Bishop by the Nonjurors,

And, upon his return to America, is dismissed by the Society.

[28] See p. 53, *note*, *ante*.

[29] Perceval's Apology for the Apostolical Succession, 247, 2nd edit.

[30] Hawkins, 146; Hawks's Maryland, 184.

[31] Fulham MSS., quoted by Hawks, 183, 184.

have failed to renew in the Church Colonial the same serious evils which were experienced by the Church at home. Her divisions would have been multiplied, and her trials aggravated thereby. A century passed away before the Nonjuring schism died out in England and in Scotland. Its course in America was happily much shorter. Welton was summoned forthwith to return to England by virtue of the King's writ of Privy Seal, addressed to him through Sir William Keith, Governor of Pennsylvania; and he so far obeyed the order as to depart from the province for Lisbon. Talbot, it is said, took the oaths and submitted; but made no attempt to resume the duties which he had once discharged so well. His death, which occurred in 1727, renewed the feelings of regret that he should ever have turned aside from them[32].

Dies in 1727.

Of those who were fellow-labourers at the same time, and in the same or adjoining provinces with Talbot, one has already been noted as the object of his warm and hearty eulogy, the Rev. John Brooke. He went out, by direction of the Society, in 1704, and was appointed by Cornbury to take charge of Elizabethtown, the largest settlement at that time in East Jersey, and some other neighbouring stations. The authority to make such an appointment was derived by Cornbury from his official Instructions, which charged him to 'take especial care that' the service due to Almighty God should 'be devoutly and duly' celebrated 'throughout his government,' by the reading of the Book of Common Prayer, and the adminis-

Rev. John Brooke.

Instructions of Colonial Governors.

[32] Humphreys, 185; Perceval's Apology, &c., 247.

tration of the Sacraments of Christ according to the rites of the Church of England; 'that the churches already built there should be well and orderly kept, and more built,' as the Colony improved; that 'a competent maintenance should be assigned,' together with a house and glebe, 'to the minister of each orthodox Church;' and also that the 'Parishes be so limited and settled, as' he should 'find most convenient for the accomplishing this good work[33].' To comply immediately with the letter of these Instructions, in a country which the Independents, for more than half a century, had regarded as their own, was impossible. Without a place of worship for his people, or residence for himself, or any public means of support beyond the scanty stipend allowed by the Society, Brooke was called upon to labour amid a population scattered throughout a territory more than 50 miles long, and a majority of whom were taught to regard with aversion and mistrust the Church of which he was an ordained minister. But, strengthened by the spirit "of power, and of love, and of a sound mind," Brooke bore up successfully against every difficulty. He aroused the careless, confirmed the wavering, won over the disaffected. At first, gathering together his few followers in a room of Colonel Townly's house; thence repairing with them to a barn, and continuing to worship there, until the cold of an inclement winter drove them out, he found them increase so rapidly in numbers and in zeal, that they helped him to lay the foundation of a Church in Elizabethtown on St. John Baptist's Day, 1706. It was soon completed; and

Brooke's successful ministry.

[33] Extract from the Instructions to Cornbury, quoted by Hawkins, 423.

two other Churches were begun at the same time, one at Amboy, and another at Freehold. At Piscataway also, the inhabitants repaired an old Dissenting meeting-house for present use, and collected £100 among themselves towards the erection of a stone Church. In the district assigned to Brooke, there were no less than seven stations, which he constantly visited; preaching and catechising at each; and organising, with equal zeal and prudence, every means that could be devised to keep his people stedfast in the faith. He applied also a large portion of his own salary to the advancement of the works which he urged others to undertake; contributing from that apparently insufficient source not less than £10 towards the building fund of each of the above-named Churches. Distinguished thus for his abundant labours and unsparing sacrifice of self, Brooke will for ever occupy a foremost rank among the Missionaries of the Church of England. The speedy termination of his career—for he died in 1707—was a heavy loss and a great sorrow to his people; and, many years afterwards, we find them acknowledging, in various ways, the blessing of his example. Though dead, he yet spake to the people lessons which they gratefully cherished; lessons the more solemn and precious, because the voice which uttered them issued from their Pastor's early grave[34].

His death.

None bore more cheerful and constant testimony to the blessings of Brooke's ministry than Edward Vaughan, who next followed him, and for 38 years carried on the same work in the same district, with a success which proved

Rev. Edward Vaughan.

[34] Humphreys, 188—190; Hawkins, 147, 148.

him to be as patient and prudent as he was diligent and zealous. The congregations at Elizabethtown and Woodbridge and the neighbouring settlements, he enlarged and strengthened. Many other persons, whom he still found Dissenters, he won over to communion with the Church. The number of communicants, of children baptized, and of others under regular teaching, exhibited, from year to year, in every place within the borders of his Mission, a continual increase. From these, more than from any other stations at that time, came repeated applications to the Society at home for Bibles and Prayer Books, and other devotional works; and the hearty expression also by his people of love for their Pastor, and of confidence in his judgment, gave additional weight to his own reports of his proceedings. Let the following testimony to the value of Vaughan's labours, eight years after their commencement, be taken as a sample of the many which might be cited:

> We esteem ourselves happy under his pastoral care, and have a thorough persuasion of mind that the Church of Christ is now planted among us in its purity. Mr. Vaughan hath, to the great comfort and edification of our families, in these dark and distant regions of the world, prosecuted the duties of his holy calling with the utmost application and diligence; adorned his character with an exemplary life and conversation, and so behaved himself, with all due prudence and fidelity, showing uncorruptness, gravity, sincerity, and sound speech, that they who are of the contrary part have no evil thing to say of him.

His long and successful ministry.

Great cause for thankfulness had Edward Vaughan, as he compared the state of his people, at the end of his long career, with that which he found upon his arrival among them. And, when that end drew near, it is interesting to trace his anxiety still to secure for the work in

which he had been employed, such permanency as he could give to it. He bequeathed to the Society his house and nine acres of glebe, 'for the use of the Church of England minister at Elizabethtown, and his successors, for ever[35].'

Rev. T. B. Chandler.

The field of Missionary labour which we are now reviewing was favoured beyond any other, at that time, in the number of faithful and diligent men appointed to work in it. The immediate successor of Vaughan was Thomas Bradbury Chandler, who long held a foremost place in the ranks of the American Clergy, and whose writings remain to show the spirit which animated and the principles which sustained them. I dwell not now upon his early association with Dissenters, and the education which, by right of inheritance, he received at their hands, or upon the steps by which he was afterwards led to the Church of England[36]. A more fitting opportunity to consider these will occur, when we notice the like facts, as they are described by Chandler himself in his biography of Johnson. My present purpose is only to trace the course of his ministry at Elizabethtown and its neighbourhood, to which, upon the recommendation of Johnson and Seabury, he was first sent by the Society, in 1747, as

[35] Humphreys, 190—194; Hawkins, 148.

[36] I regret to observe, in Allen's American Biographical and Historical Dictionary, a work of much merit in other respects, an effort to cast reproach upon the sincerity of Chandler and his companions; as though it were only their desire to 'become dignitaries in the Church,' which led them to enter into communion with it. Not a particle of evidence is offered in support of such unworthy insinuations; and the authorities quoted at the end of the biographical notices,—I refer especially to those of Chandler and Johnson,—if honestly examined, would prove their falsehood.

Catechist; and, in 1751, having meanwhile received ordination in England, returned as Missionary. Untiring zeal upon his part, and grateful and affectionate sympathy upon the part of his people, were the chief, and for many years the never-failing, characteristics of his work and its results. At Woodbridge, a small Church was built, soon after the commencement of his labours; and at Amboy, which he could only visit occasionally, and, when he did so, preached day by day in different places of the district, two subscriptions were opened; one for erecting a parsonage-house, and another for providing a stipend of £30 a year for the support of a Clergyman. 'I can hardly conceive,' writes Chandler, 'that the poor people are able to pay such a subscription; yet they assure me they can and will, and some of the ablest of them offer to be sponsors for the rest[37].'

His refusal to co-operate with Whitefield.

As time passed on, the effect of the many adverse influences, which had sprung up elsewhere out of the disputes already described, made itself felt in New Jersey; and Chandler was doomed to see a harvest of miserable confusion gathered in from the seed of discord thus scattered upon it. Whitefield, for example, who, in his second visit to America, had been received with kindness and courtesy by the Colonial Clergy, and preached, at their request, in the Churches of the various provinces through which he travelled, sought to obtain from Chandler the use of his pulpit at Elizabethtown, upon the occasion of his sixth visit, twenty-four years afterwards, (1764,) and was refused. The painful conflicts, which had been going on with hardly

[37] Hawkins, 158, 159.

any intermission, during that interval, and which at length had broken asunder the bonds of union between Whitefield and the Church of which he had once been an honoured minister, amply justified the refusal of Chandler. To have associated himself in the public worship of the Church with one who ceased not to cast contempt upon her ordinances, and to speak evil of her rulers, abroad and at home, would have been an avowed promotion of the self-same work of schism. The fact of the schism, indeed, he contemplated with shame and sorrow; and, at an earlier stage, would have rejoiced to stay the evil, by words and acts of kindly conciliation. But when, through events beyond his controul, the evil had been done, it was not for Chandler to make it greater by receiving as an ally the man who, in no measured or ambiguous terms, proclaimed himself an enemy. A large number of his people were at first displeased with Chandler's conduct in this matter; and it argues well for the clearness of his judgment, the firmness of his resolution, and the prudence with which he enforced both, that he should have convinced them, as he did in the end, that he was right[38].

His controversy with Chauncy and others, upon the subject of a resident Bishop in America,

The careful examination which Chandler had made, in a former day, of the grounds of difference between the Church of England and those who had separated from her communion, and the clear, unfaltering decision which he had given in her favour, led him to be more zealous in her defence than many who, upon the strength only of an hereditary attachment, professed to honour her. From an early period

[38] Hawkins, 153.

of his ministry, he had expressed his deep conviction of the hardship inflicted upon the Colonial Church by being deprived of a resident Bishop. And the growing disaffection between the Colonies and the Mother-country led him to apprehend more keenly the consequences of such neglect. The real merits of the question, he saw, were confounded with different phases of the political struggle which had then begun. The same influences, of which the origin and progress in Virginia have been described, were renewed in every other province of North America. The angry feelings, excited by the Stamp Act against the King and Parliament of England, gave a sharper sting to the jealousy of the Colonists towards any and every institution which they identified with them. And, since the National Church was deemed the foremost of such institutions, any attempt to extend her ministrations to quarters in which hitherto they had been little known and still less esteemed, or to invest them with greater authority by the personal presence of her Bishops, awakened, at such a crisis, furious opposition. In the northern Colonies, the leaders of this opposition were especially active. They had brought themselves to believe, that the days of the Star Chamber and High Commission Court were about to return; that the spirit of Laud, when he wielded their most hated powers, was the only spirit which animated his successors; and that the introduction of a Bishop within their borders would be but the precursor of an intolerable tyranny. The following passage in a pamphlet published in 1767 by Dr. Chauncy of Boston, in answer to a Sermon of the Bishop of Llandaff upon this subject, proves how great was the alarm which then prevailed:

Aggravated by the political difficulties of the day.

It may be relied on, our people would not be easy, if restrained in the exercise of that liberty, wherewith Christ hath made them free; yea, they would hazard every thing dear to them, their estates, their very lives, rather than suffer their necks to be put under that yoke of bondage, which was so sadly galling to their fathers, and occasioned their retreat into this distant land, that they might enjoy the freedom of men and Christians.

Amid such a storm of prejudice, the voice of calm reason could hardly hope to gain a hearing. Chandler, notwithstanding, renewed his prayer to the home authorities that they would give to the Colonial Church a resident Episcopate, and strove to convince the gainsayers who surrounded him, that, in urging this measure, he sought not to make the Church an instrument of coercing others, but simply to secure to her own members the guidance which of right belonged to them. His 'Appeal to the Public in behalf of the Church of England in America' was answered by Chauncy, Livingston, and Allison, and followed by a protracted controversy, to which the daily increasing animosity of political parties added strength and bitterness. Chandler disapproved of the measures of the British government which had provoked this animosity, and foresaw clearly their ruinous consequences to the Mother-country[39]. But he disapproved yet more of the spirit which animated a large majority of the Colonists in their opposition. And when, in the progress of the conflict, he saw them resolved not only to thwart the operation of certain Acts which had been enforced under the authority of British rule, but to destroy within their borders every vestige of the institutions from which the authority had ema-

His conduct in reference to the conflict between England and the American Colonies.

[39] Ib. 154—156.

nated, he hesitated not to stand forward as a champion of the despised and hated minority. Yet, whilst he battled thus manfully in defence of what he felt to be the true principles of English citizenship, he relaxed not, for a single moment, the duties of a Christian minister. He believed, and expressed his belief, again and again, in his letters to the Society, and to other friends in England, that the estranged and hostile feelings of her American provinces were but the inevitable result of the misrule and neglect which had so long prevailed. He strove, therefore, to repair the wrong, as far as his own hand and influence with others could do so; and, howsoever discouraging the work, he still went onward with it. Sometimes, indeed, he was cheered by the conviction that his exertions were not in vain. The reports of his Mission in 1770, exhibit an extent of successful diligence greater than at any former period. The same year also saw him maturing plans for the benefit of the Indian tribes. And, three years afterwards, he sends home the following account of the condition of the Church in New Jersey:

His continued zeal and diligence as a Missionary.

> The Church in this province makes a more respectable appearance than it ever did till very lately, thanks to the venerable Society, without whose charitable interposition there would not have been one episcopal congregation among us. They have now no less than eleven Missionaries in this district, none of whom are blameable in their conduct, and some of them are eminently useful. Instead of the small buildings out of repair in which our congregation used to assemble twenty years ago, we have now several that make a handsome appearance, both for size and decent ornament, particularly at Burlington, Shrewsbury, New Brunswick, and Newark, and all the rest are in good repair; and the congregations, in general, appear to be as much improved as the churches they assemble in.

His testimony to the valuable services of the Rev. John Mackean.

The generous and hearty readiness with which, as in the above instance, Chandler bore testimony to the successful labours of others who were associated in the same work with himself, was a remarkable feature in his character. Thus, to take one more instance out of many, we find him, at a time when the pressure of his own duties was very great, regarding with affectionate interest the services which had been maintained, in feebleness of body, but with unshaken constancy of mind, for many years at Amboy, by the Rev. John Mackean; and, when the tidings came to Chandler that the course of that faithful servant of God was about to be closed in death, testifying, with hearty and emphatic earnestness, his belief that a better man had never been found in the ranks of the Society's Missionaries[40].

Compelled to retire to England.

But an abrupt and painful termination of the work carried on by Chandler and his brethren was at hand. The unreserved freedom with which he had delivered a judgment upon the many controverted points at issue, made his own burden of personal danger and trial all the heavier; and, in 1775, the year which witnessed the battles of Lexington and Bunker's Hill, he was compelled to flee from the scene of his long ministry at Elizabethtown, and find a refuge in England.

The Rev. Isaac Browne.

The Society did not forsake its Missionaries in their hour of persecution and distress; but, freely acknowledging the obligation of their faithful services, continued, wheresoever it was needed, the payment of their salaries. In no case

[40] Ib. 158—160. 164.

was this assistance more needed, or the extension of it more blessed both to the giver and the receiver, than in that of Isaac Browne, who had laboured for half a century, first at Brooklands in Long Island, and then at Newark in New Jersey. From this latter station, Browne was driven forth, in 1777, the year after the Declaration of Independence, and found a temporary shelter in New York. He sent home, at this time, many affecting evidences of the hardships which, in common with other Loyalists, he was made to suffer; and the pressure of which was increased, in his own case, by the consciousness that 'age and infirmity' had made him 'a dead weight to the Society.' In 1784, Browne was again forced to retire from New York, and to seek another asylum at Annapolis, in Nova Scotia, where he continued to live for three years, suffering with exemplary patience many sore privations[41].

It is now time to note the labours of other Missionaries who were summoned to carry on, at Burlington and its neighbourhood, the work which had been so painfully interrupted by Talbot's union with the Nonjurors. For nearly three years afterwards, the only help received was from Ellis, a schoolmaster, employed by the Society at Burlington, who appears to have conducted the public catechizing of the children with unwearied diligence. In 1726, the services of John Holbrook, a Missionary from Salem, were for a time secured; and he was followed in 1727 by Norwood, and in 1730 by Weyman. The notices which have come down to us of their ministry, how-

Mr. Ellis, Rev. Mr. Holbrook, Rev. Mr. Norwood, Rev. Mr. Weyman.

[41] Ib. 161—163.

ever scanty, are yet sufficient to show that all these men were earnest in the discharge of its duties[42]. And, accordingly, when Colin Campbell, in 1737, succeeded Weyman, he found a pathway already prepared for the successful prosecution of his ministry, which he carried on without interruption, and with many a gratifying proof of zeal, for 29 years, at Burlington, and at Mount Holly, about eight miles distant. At the latter place a handsome Church was soon built, and conveyed to the Society in conjunction with three other trustees, of whom the Missionary at Burlington was always to be one[43].

Rev. Colin Campbell.

Campbell was succeeded by Jonathan Odell, who, for nine years, had charge of the mission at Burlington. The rebuilding and enlargement of St. Mary's Church, during his incumbency, was not more a proof of its increasing congregation, than did the refusal of Odell to receive the offerings of the people for his own benefit, until the debt contracted by rebuilding their Church should have been discharged, bear witness to the zeal and generosity of their Pastor[44]. But the progress of this and of every other kindred work was for a time rudely and cruelly checked by the outbreak of war; and Odell

Rev. Jonathan Odell.

[42] Appendix to Bp. Doane's Sixth Sermon, 146, 147.

[43] Bp. Doane's Sermons, 130, *note:* Hawkins, 149. A remarkable instance is cited by Hawkins, in the above passage, of attachment to the Church on the part of Paul Washington, the clerk of St. Mary's, Burlington, who, having served that office for 45 years, bequeathed his house and land, worth £100, to be applied, after his widow's death, as a fund for the repairs of that church for ever.

[44] Bp. Doane's Sermons, 131, *note.*

was compelled to find with others a temporary refuge at New York[45].

Rev. Mr. Houdin.

Before that crisis arrived, two more Missionaries claim our regard, as proving by acts of self-sacrifice the earnestness of their devotion to the cause which engaged them. The one was Houdin, who, having left an important post which he occupied in the Church of Rome, that of Superior of a convent in Canada, and having been received into communion with the Church of England, was appointed, in 1753, Missionary of Trenton in New Jersey; and soon laid there the foundation of a flourishing Church, amid a people who, until that period, had looked upon its doctrines and ordinances with contempt and scorn.

Rev. Thos. Thompson goes from New Jersey to the coast of Guinea, in 1751.

The other was Thomas Thompson, a Fellow of Christ's College, Cambridge; of whom the Journals of the Society bear record, that, 'out of pure zeal to become a missionary in the cause of Christ,' he resigned all that most men would have accounted precious in the land of his birth, and laboured for five years as a faithful Missionary in Monmouth county in New Jersey. At the end of that period, he left it only that he might enter upon another field of duty yet more arduous. He pointed out to the Society the obligation which bound them to watch over and help those despised Africans, of whom so many were doomed to hopeless slavery in the Western Colonies; and argued that, to this end, the ministrations of the Church should be extended to Africa itself. It was a field of labour which no Christian Missionary in that day had

[45] Hawkins, 341.

attempted to explore; and the dangers attending the path of him who should first enter therein, were hardly to be underrated. But Thompson did not propose a scheme which he shrank from executing. Let the Society appoint him to the Mission; and he was prepared cheerfully to undertake its duties. We find him accordingly, in 1751, landing upon the coast of Guinea, as travelling Missionary of the Society among the Negroes. His stipend was fixed at £70 a year; and the manner in which he discharged his duties for six years, until sickness drove him from his post, amply bore out the hope expressed by the Society that the Mission was undertaken 'in a firm reliance on the good providence of GOD, whose grace is abundantly sufficient to perfect strength in weakness, by His blessing on our poor endeavours[46].'

Notice of the Society's missionary work in Africa.

And here, since the notice of Africa has arisen from its association with the name of the intrepid Missionary from New Jersey, who first proclaimed upon its western shore the message of the Gospel of Christ, it may not be out of place to remark, that, after the close of Thompson's period of service, the Society judged it better to settle a Clergyman, and, if possible, a native,

[46] Ib. 149, 150. See also Chronological Table of Stations and Missionaries, given in a valuable work entitled 'Propaganda' (p. 54). It consists of a compilation of some of the proceedings of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, and was first published anonymously in 1819. The second edition, to which I refer, appeared in the following year. Its author was the late Rev. Josiah Pratt, then Secretary of the Ch. Miss. Soc., and father of the present Archdeacon of Calcutta. I may here add that Thompson printed, at the request of the Society, an account of two Missionary voyages which he made whilst in Africa; but I have not had an opportunity of examining it.

permanently upon the coast of Guinea. Some time necessarily intervened, before such an arrangement could be perfected. But the selection ultimately made seems to have been a most happy one. Philip Quaque, a native of that country, was sent to England to receive the education necessary for his future duties; and, having been admitted into holy orders in 1765, returned to Africa the year following, —nine years, that is, after Thompson's labours had ceased,—and, for more than fifty years afterwards, continued to discharge, with the greatest assiduity and zeal, his office as Missionary of the Society, and Chaplain to the Factory at Cape Coast Castle. A monument recording these facts, and testifying the approbation by the African Company of the long and faithful services of Philip Quaque, was seen covering his grave in the Castle-yard, by Samuel Crowther, who visited that spot in 1841. Its inscription was then copied by him, and is given at length in the interesting Journal which he drew up, when he and Mr. Schön, in behalf of the Church Missionary Society, accompanied the expedition sent up the Niger that year by the British government [47].

Philip Quaque.

Returning to the review of Missionary work in North America, I would direct attention to Pennsylvania, the province west of New Jersey, and separated from it by the river Delaware. The circumstances of its early settlement, and the commencement in Philadelphia, its capital, of the ministrations of the Church of England by Clayton and Evans, have been already noticed [48]. Clayton's career was terminated

Pennsylvania.

Christ Church, Philadelphia.

[47] Schön's and Crowther's Journals, 265.

[48] Vol. ii. 435, 436.

by a contagious malady caught in visiting the sick, about two years after his arrival; but, in that short period, his congregation increased from 50 to 700, and the first Christ Church edifice was built under his direction[49]. Evans remained in the Colony from 1700 to 1718; having Mr. Thomas as his assistant at Christ Church, and extending his services to many settlements from 20 to 70 miles distant, chiefly those which had been formed by emigrants from Wales. Evans preached to them, as often as he could, in their own language, and made every effort to obtain for them a permanent minister. For the last two years, indeed, of his residence in Pennsylvania, his labours were entirely confined to Oxford and Radnor. He had already awakened in those places, about twenty miles distant from each other, an earnest spirit of devotion, in his visits from Philadelphia. The people had cheerfully built Churches, and contributed 'in money and country produce,' such offerings as they could give towards the support of a minister, whom they implored the Society to send among them. In 1714, John Clubb was appointed to the Mission; but a year had hardly elapsed before he sank under the burden of toil which it entailed; and Evans returned to occupy the vacant post.

The services of Clayton and Evans.

John Clubb.

In 1718, Evans was invited by the Governor of Maryland to enter upon the duties of a Parish in that province, where he soon afterwards died, leaving behind him the precious testimony, 'that he had been a faithful Missionary, and had proved a great instrument towards settling

Death and character of Evans.

[49] Dorr's History of Christ Church, Philadelphia, 24. 280.

religion and the Church of England in those wild countries[50].' A paper on the state of the Church in Pennsylvania was drawn up by Evans for the use of the Society, whilst he was in England in 1707, which exhibits his clear and sagacious judgment with respect to the chief necessities of the Colonial Church at that time and the measures requisite for their relief[51]. And, if it be a consolation to know, that, in that day of difficulty, the word of courageous and hopeful exhortation was spoken without reserve by men who were themselves toiling in the wide harvest-field into which they summoned others to enter, it is abundantly supplied in this document.

Their means of support.

The infant Church at Philadelphia was indebted for its early support partly to Royal bounty. William III. allowed £50 a year as a stipend to the Clergyman at Christ Church, and £30 a year to the Schoolmaster; and Queen Anne presented the communion plate, which is still used in the celebration of the Lord's Supper at Christ Church[52]. The free-will offerings of the people made up the remainder of that which was required for the Clergyman and his Assistant. Meanwhile, the Society sent out the books required for Divine Service in the Welsh language to the different settlements visited by Evans. And, at Chester, upon the river Delaware, where the people had been induced by Evans to build a Church, it stationed, in 1703, Mr. Nicholls as Missionary.

Missions at Chester and Newcastle.

Nicholls, Ross, and Humphreys.

His work was carried on with good success for five years; at the end of which period, he removed to Maryland. After

[50] Humphreys, 147—151. [51] Hawkins, 108—114.

[52] Humphreys, 146; Dorr's History of Christ Church, 37.

his departure, the duty was sustained for a short time by Ross from Newcastle, the introduction of whose name may serve to illustrate one of the many evils which resulted from the absence of a resident Bishop. Ross had been appointed by the Society, in 1705, to the Mission at Newcastle, originally a Dutch settlement; and, upon the retirement of Nicholls, removed without any orders to Chester. This proceeding compelled the Society to suspend the payment of his stipend until Ross could explain his conduct; and Ross was obliged for that purpose to return to England. It is only justice to him and to the Society to add that his explanation was deemed satisfactory; that he was restored to his Mission at Newcastle; and that, having afterwards accompanied Governor Keith on a tour through Kent and Sussex counties, that officer bore the most honourable testimony to his 'capacity, exemplary life, and great industry.' Nevertheless, it is evident that all this waste of time and labour might have been prevented had a Bishop been upon the spot to direct his movements [53]. The mission at Chester was made over by the Society, with as little delay as possible, to Humphreys, the benefits of whose ministry were so great, that it is impossible not to regret that any necessity should have arisen for removing him from a sphere of such extensive usefulness. Not only did the Church at Chester increase and flourish under him, but at Chichester, four miles distant, and at Concord, another neighbouring town, both of which were regularly visited by him, the inhabitants built Chapels at their own charge, and manifested their earnest desire to place the Mission upon

[53] Humphreys, 153. 163—166. 169—173; Hawkins, 118—120.

a strong and permanent footing. But, with all their exertions, it was impossible for them to accomplish the desired end. The health of Humphreys gave way beneath the fatigue of the long and distant journeys which he was constantly obliged to make. His expenses consequently increased. And when, in the midst of these anxieties, an invitation came to him from Maryland, to undertake, in a Parish of that province, duties less distracting and burdensome, and for the performance of which a more competent provision was secured, he was constrained to accept it. The Society freely permitted him to do so, and bestowed upon him at the same time a gratuity, in addition to the stipend that was due, in token of the hardships he had suffered, and their sense of the services he had rendered.

The removal of Evans, Nicholls, and Humphreys to Maryland, we may feel assured, from the character of the men, was amply justified by the circumstances in which they were placed. But there were others, according to the testimony of Talbot, for whom the like justification could not be pleaded, who, yielding to the temptations held out in Maryland, were turned, through love of gain, from the path of Missionary enterprise [54]. Hence, another difficulty was cast in the way of the Society's operations.

The valuable services of Robert Weyman.

The spirit evinced by the people of Oxford and Radnor made it the duty of the Society to supply without delay the loss which they had suffered by the death of Clubb and the departure of Evans. Nor could the duty have been better fulfilled than it was by the appointment

[54] See p. 238, *ante*.

of Robert Weyman, in the year in which the services of Evans had been withdrawn. The course of Weyman's ministry for eleven years in these settlements was most gratifying; being marked by unvarying diligence and zeal on his part, and by the continued love and confidence of his increasing flock. At the end of that period, he was removed to the more important sphere of duty at Burlington, where for eight years longer he still approved himself "a good soldier of Jesus Christ." He died, as he had lived, in his heavenly Master's service, acknowledging with gratitude the help which he had received from those who were united with him in the same work. In a letter written to the Society the day before his death, he speaks of the complicated maladies which were fast wearing out his strength; bids an affectionate farewell to its members; thanks them for all their favours and good offices towards him; and prays unto 'God Almighty to pour His blessings upon them, and to recompense all their works of mercy and charity at the resurrection of the just.' A few hours after his hand traced these words, the spirit of Robert Weyman was released; and good Edward Vaughan,—who, in the watchful tenderness with which he cheered the dying hour of his fellow-labourer and friend, supplied another evidence of his own devoted and loving spirit,—sent home the affecting record, confirmed by his own ready testimony that Weyman had been, in very deed, 'a true and faithful labourer in God's vineyard[55].'

Apoquiminy.

The inhabitants of Apoquiminy, not far

[55] Humphreys, 158, 159; Hawkins, 116–118. Weyman left a widow and six children in straitened circumstances; and a gratuity of £60 was made to them by the Society.

Rev. Mr. Jenkins.

from Newcastle, shared the spirit of those of Oxford and Radnor. For, before any Missionary was permanently settled among them, and whilst they could only be visited, at uncertain intervals, by Sewell, a Clergyman from Maryland, and Crawford, the Society's Missionary at Dover, they had, in 1705, built for themselves a Church. In 1708, their prayer to the Society for the constant and regular services of a minister was answered by the appointment of Mr. Jenkins, the success of whose career was most remarkable. But it was abruptly terminated by his early death; and the most touching assurances of the gratitude of the people for his services, and of their sorrow for his loss, were forwarded to England with the earnest entreaty that another minister might be forthwith appointed. For some time, the Society had not the means of complying with the prayer; during which interval, the spiritual wants of the people were partially supplied by the help of some Swedish Missionaries, and by the occasional visits of Clubb from Radnor, and Ross from Newcastle. At length, Merry was appointed to Apoquiminy, and after him Campbell; but the departure of both soon followed, the former returning to England, and the latter removing to Brookhaven; and it was not until 1729, that the course so well begun by Jenkins more than twenty years before was renewed, with a good hope of its continuance, under Hacket, whom the Society then appointed to this settlement[56].

Dover. Rev. Thos. Crawford.

The Mission at Dover, the capital of Kent county, was settled by the Society in 1704. On account of the fertility of

[56] Humphreys, 159—162.

the soil, the inhabitants lived in scattered dwellings throughout the province; and, in order to bring his ministrations within reach of all, it was the practice of Crawford, its first Pastor, to preach one Sunday at the upper end of the county, on another at Dover, in the Church which was built three years after his arrival, and on the third Sunday at the lower part of the county. He was invited also to extend his services to the adjoining county of Sussex; and, availing himself of such accommodation as could be afforded in the house of a Captain Hill, who resided at Lewes, its capital, upon the banks of the Delaware, formed a congregation there, which quickly became the centre of important Missionary work [57].

Lewes. Rev. W. Beckett.

I have already noticed the visit made by Ross to this district, when he accompanied Governor Keith upon a tour of inspection. Upon a second visit made soon afterwards, he opened at Lewes a Church, which its inhabitants, in spite of great poverty and discouragement, had erected. The character and wants of the people of Lewes induced the Society to appoint, in 1721, William Beckett as its Missionary. The field of his duties was co-extensive with the whole county of Sussex, 50 miles in length, and 20 in breadth; and the diligence with which he laboured in every quarter was followed by signal success. The magistrates and gentlemen of the county presented to him their thanks for the reformation of the blasphemer and drunkard, which his ministry had been the instrument to effect; and the rapid and permanent increase in every quarter of those who honoured, and were sanctified by, the due observance of

[57] Humphreys, 166—169; Hawkins, 118.

Church ordinances, gave additional testimony to the value of Beckett's services. It was no mere transient effect which he produced upon the minds of his people. Three years after his arrival, he speaks of three Churches having been built, and not one of them able to contain the throng of worshippers who resorted to them. Some of his people rode, Sunday after Sunday, twenty miles, that they might join in the celebration of Divine Service. At an interval of five years more, he describes a fourth Church, rising up in the midst of the forest. In 1741, when he had been for twenty years engaged in his duties, the influence which he had acquired among his people enabled him to keep them stedfast, amid all the wild enthusiasm which Whitefield had then excited by his preaching in every place to which he came[58]; and, in the year following, when his own labours were drawing to a close, he describes, in one of the last letters which he wrote to the Society, his four Churches as still being filled on Sundays and holidays; and that, in summer time, as they were unable to hold their congregations, he was 'often obliged to preach under the green trees for room, for shade, and for fresh air[59].'

Rev. Hugh Neill.

In the ranks of the Pennsylvania Missionaries, as in those of New Jersey, were found men who had been brought up among the Nonconformists. Hugh Neill, once a Presbyterian minister in New Jersey, was one of the most distinguished

[58] In a letter describing the return of some who had been for a time Whitefield's followers, Beckett's words are, 'Your missionaries have conquered and convinced them, not so much by opposition as by patience, and by studying to be quiet and to mind their own business.' Hawkins, 122.

[59] Humphreys, 173—178; Hawkins, 121—123.

of them. He had received ordination at the hands of the Bishop of London in 1749, and was appointed by the Society first to the Dover, and afterwards to the Oxford Mission. The course of enquiry which he had pursued, whilst comparing the authority of Episcopal and Presbyterian discipline, led him, as it had led Chandler, to lay more than ordinary stress upon the necessity of securing for the Colonial Church the presence of a resident Bishop. The confusion which Whitefield and his followers had spread throughout the province impressed the sense of this necessity yet more deeply upon his mind; and, a few years afterwards, the death of two young Clergymen who were drowned within sight of the American shore, at the end of a voyage from England, constrained him to feel still more acutely the magnitude of the evil which he deplored. One of the sufferers was his own nephew, Mr. Wilson, whom he had educated and sent to England to be ordained. And the sorrow of Neill upon that occasion brought vividly before him the hardship imposed upon all who sought to be employed in the ministry of the Colonial Church, of being forced to traverse 3000 miles across the Atlantic Ocean, before they could be received as her ministers. He knew, from his own experience, that fear of the danger of the voyage, and the expenditure of time and money which it involved, deterred many from entering into the ministry of the Colonial Church who were anxious to do so; and that, longing to proclaim to others the word of salvation, they sought among Dissenting communities that sympathy which the Church of England denied them. Why then did she persist in her denial? The prayer so often urged upon her was in itself so reasonable, that even the Presbyterians allowed it to

be so. One of the most distinguished members of that body in Philadelphia, Dr. Allison, had confessed to Neill, that, if the office of Bishop could only be separated from that exercise of the civil power which had made its very name hateful in their sight, he would be 'well contented if there was a Bishop of that sort in every province in America [60].'

His sympathy with the Negro race.

During the fifteen years of Neill's ministry, his sympathies were especially directed to the Negro race, whose love and confidence he gained, and for instructing whom in the doctrines of Christian truth he evinced a singular aptitude. The like difficult path of duty was pursued by Dr. Smith, Provost of the College of Philadelphia, who, upon the death of Neill in 1766, was placed, at his own request, upon the list of the Society's Missionaries, and appointed to carry on the work at Oxford. Ten years before this time, Smith had proposed to the Society a plan for the education of Indian children; and had received the promise of a grant of £100 for that purpose [61]. The application of this grant to the specific purpose for which it had been sought was deferred for reasons which I have not been able to ascertain. But the exertions of Smith to ameliorate the condition of the Indian were then, and for many years afterwards, a conspicuous feature of his ministry.

Rev. Dr. Smith.

Rev. Thos. Barton.

The same regard for the same neglected race was manifested also by Thomas Barton, who, having been for some time engaged as tutor in the Academy of Pennsylvania, was, by the recommendation of its professors, admitted into holy orders,

[60] Hawkins, 126.

[61] Ib. 123. 126.

and appointed by the Society, in 1755, as travelling Missionary in the counties of York and Cumberland. Their frontier border was frequently visited by Indian traders, who came down the Ohio to dispose of their fur and deer-skins. Barton applied himself to the task of gaining the confidence of these men, that he might become their instructor. Some of them who understood English accepted his invitation to come to Church. Their demeanour was reverential and attentive. And, upon his visiting them the next day, they brought all their companions to shake hands with him, and, pointing their hands towards heaven, spoke for a long time to each other in their native tongue; the one party eagerly communicating, and the other not less eagerly receiving, the intelligence that Barton was both able and willing to teach them the will of that great Being whom they ignorantly worshipped. He forthwith planned, and began to execute, a scheme for the protection and education of the children of these Indians, and wrote frequently to the Society respecting it. But his exertions were sorely impeded by the war which then broke out (1756), and by the defeat of the English forces under General Braddock which gave to it such a painful celebrity[62]. Nevertheless, the zeal and energy of Barton were still conspicuous. As the perils and miseries of war increased, he organised his people for defence; and such was the enthusiasm with which his example inspired them, that they followed him, with instant readiness, by day or by night, whithersoever he went; and Penn, the Proprietor of the province, bore grateful

His efforts to instruct the Indians.

His conduct during the war.

[62] Ib. 129.

testimony to his courageous and unwearied efforts. The young men within his Mission offered to go as a body and join General Forbes's army, if he would only accompany them. He offered, therefore, to act for a time as Chaplain to the troops; and the offer was thankfully accepted. But he availed himself of the earliest opportunity to return to the more welcome field of Missionary labour. Penn had already acknowledged that Barton had not 'done any thing in the military way but what had increased his character for piety, and that of a sincerely religious man and zealous minister.' And the eagerness with which he resumed the duties of his proper calling proved the justice of this testimony. He continued to discharge them with unabated energy for more than sixteen years longer. The circumference of his Mission, which comprised the whole of Lancaster county, and parts of Chester and of Berks, was not less than 200 miles. Of its 40,000 inhabitants, the members of the Church of England were but a small minority. Yet, pursuing with constant diligence the course of his faithful ministry, their numbers increased year after year. Churches were built at Lancaster, Carnarvon, Pequea, New London, and Whiteclay Creek; and endowments of land and houses were freely and thankfully provided by the people. The German Lutherans and Dutch Calvinists expressed the utmost readiness to be received into communion with the Church of England; and many also of the English Nonconformist settlers joined the congregations, which were continually growing up under Barton's fostering care.

Then followed the same painful termination of his ministry which has been described in other instances. Unable to resist the violence of popular fury, and de-

termined not to violate the duties to which his ordination vow had bound him, Barton was compelled to follow the example of almost all the other Clergy in Pennsylvania, and to shut up and leave the Churches in which the liberty of conducting public worship in accordance with the Book of Common Prayer was no longer permitted. He still continued, however, to discharge his duties in private, as long as he was able; and, in 1778, having refused to take the oath of allegiance to the Commonwealth, he received permission to sell his property, and remove into the British territory [63].

Christ Church, Philadelphia.

Turn we now to review the chief events affecting the progress of the Church, during the same period, in Philadelphia itself. After the retirement of Evans from Christ Church, its duties were conducted by Talbot and others, until the arrival from England, in 1719, of John Vicary, who brought with him the licence of the Bishop of London (Robinson), appointing him its minister. The feebleness of Vicary's health and his early death are the only facts recorded of him. Then followed the temporary appointment of John Urmston, who had been a Missionary in North Carolina, but whose conduct at Christ Church was deemed so reprehensible as to lead to his dismissal at the expiration of a year. The matter was formally brought under the notice of the Churchwardens and Vestry by the Clergy of the province, assembled in Convention at Chichester, Oct. 23, 1723. The authority by which they met was not derived through any formal instructions to that effect

Rev. John Vicary.

Rev. John Urmston.

[63] Ib. 132—140.

from England, but such only as the necessity of the case forced them to create for themselves. The result, however, was decisive; and Urmston, by the unanimous voice of the Vestry, was dismissed. The Vestry lost no time in petitioning Bishop Gibson, upon his translation to the See of London, to send them 'such a gentleman as might be a credit to their communion, an ornament to his profession, and a true propagator of the Gospel.' To this petition no answer was returned. It is possible, indeed, that the same punctilious caution, which that prelate exhibited in the case of the Maryland Commissaries [64], might have led him to regard it as a point of duty not to make any appointment to the Church at Philadelphia, until he had received some more specific authority than that to which he then thought he was entitled. But, if this were his only reason, the Vestry might have been informed of it. At all events, they ought not to have been allowed to infer that the Bishop of London was indifferent to their prayer.

Bishop Gibson.

An immediate and serious evil was the result of his apparent neglect in the present instance; for Talbot, as we have seen, had brought out Welton as his companion when he returned from England; and both were invested with episcopal authority, although careful to abstain from the public exercise of its duties. A favourable representation of Welton's character had, of course, been made by Talbot to the Christ Church Vestry; and a letter was accordingly addressed by them to him, July 27, 1724, in which, having described the destitute condition in which the Church had been left, and the inattention

Dr. Welton.

[64] See p. 187, *ante*.

of Bishop Gibson to their prayer that he would supply the vacancy, they asked Welton to undertake its duties. He accepted their invitation, and conducted himself, for a time, to the satisfaction of the people. Then followed his refusal to acknowledge the authority of King George; and his forced ejection from the British territories.

Rev. Archibald Cummings.

Whatsoever may have been the cause of Bishop Gibson's delay to license the appointment of a minister to Christ Church, in the first instance, it was now removed; and, in the autumn of 1726, Archibald Cummings arrived with authority from him to enter upon its duties. They had been discharged, in the interval, by the neighbouring Clergy, chiefly by Weyman, whose valuable services elsewhere have been already noticed, and to whom an offering of £50 was voted by the Vestry 'for his care of the Church during its vacancy.' Cummings held the office for more than 14 years, during which time the fabric of the Church was greatly enlarged, and the number and influence of its congregation increased. The only drawback to the general acceptance which appears to have attended his ministry, was a misunderstanding between him and Richard Peters, who was appointed, in 1736, Assistant-minister. The resignation of his office by the latter was its immediate consequence; but timely and wise forbearance on the part both of the Clergy and Vestry prevented further evil. Bishop Gibson also appears to have been in this, as in other matters submitted to his decision, a prudent and judicious arbiter. Peters continued to reside in Philadelphia, actively and generously promoting the interests of the Church; and, after the death of Dr. Jenney, the immediate successor of Cum-

Rev. Dr. Jenney.

mings, and formerly a valuable Missionary of the Society at New York and Long Island, was himself elected by the Vestry to the Rectorship of the united Churches of Christ Church and St. Peter's. During the incumbency of Jenney,—which, to the blessing of the Church in Philadelphia, lasted from 1742 to 1762[65],—the Society made the important appointment of 'a catechetical lecturer in that Church for the instruction of negroes and others,' and agreed to furnish the lecturer with a stipend of £30 a year; the congregation undertaking to make up the rest which might be required for his maintenance. William Sturgeon, a student of Yale College, was, after the most careful enquiry, selected for the office, and sent to England to receive ordination. He entered upon his duties in 1747; and, for 19 years afterwards, continued to discharge them, until ill health compelled him to resign. His career was one of uninterrupted usefulness. The people, for whose especial benefit his appointment had been made, found him at all times and in all places an affectionate and watchful Pastor; and the manner in which his services were appreciated by others who witnessed them, and best knew their value, may be learnt from the fact, mentioned in a letter from the Churchwardens to the Society, two years after Sturgeon had commenced his work, that (in addition to the stipend received from the Society) Jenney had given him half his surplice dues, and the congregation a free-will offering of £60; agreeing to present him every year with the like sum, or more. These feelings of kindly sym-

Appointment of a catechetical lecturer for the Negroes.

Rev. W. Sturgeon.

[65] A remarkable testimony to the excellence of Dr. Jenney's character is contained in the Funeral Sermon preached by Provost Smith.

pathy on the part of Sturgeon's friends had doubtless been awakened by his own generous and self-denying acts; for finding, at the commencement of his duties, that the cost of repairing and enlarging the Church had not been entirely defrayed, he requested that no gathering might be made on his own account until the end of the year. Six years afterwards, Dr. Bearcroft, Master of the Charter House, forwarded to him, by direction of the Society, of which he was then Secretary[66], a gratuity of £10 over and above his stipend, as an acknowledgment of his 'great pains and diligence in the work of the ministry.' In 1763, a complaint of neglect of duty, in not catechizing the Negro children, was brought before the Society against Sturgeon; but, upon a full investigation of the charge by the Rector and four Vestrymen, its falsehood was clearly ascertained; and the increase of his stipend from the Society to £50 a year was the best proof of continued confidence in him.

Rev. W. McClenaghan.

Shortly before the death of Jenney, in consequence of his growing infirmities, and the enlarged field of duty then opened in Philadelphia, the services of a second Assistant-minister had become necessary; and McClenaghan, one of the Society's former Missionaries in New England, was elected to fill the office. But the Bishop of London (Sherlock) refused to license him; and the Society declared him to be a man in whom they could no longer repose any confidence. McClenaghan was consequently compelled to withdraw from the post, which he held

[66] Dr. Bearcroft succeeded Dr. Humphreys, as Secretary, in 1739, and held the office till his death in 1761. His anniversary Sermon in 1744 may be regarded as a sequel to the Historical Account of the Society drawn up by his predecessor.

about a year; but not until he had created by his misconduct great disturbance and division among the people. His example shows, indeed, the care with which, amid many difficulties, the rulers of our Church at home strove to defend the Church Colonial from unworthy ministers. But how much more direct and prompt would the necessary interference have proved, had a Bishop been upon the spot!

Rev. Richd. Peters, rector of the united Parishes of Christ Church and St. Peter.

The union of the Parishes of Christ Church and St. Peter to which Peters was elected in 1762, arose out of the necessity which had long been felt for a new Church at the south end of the city. The first movement in reference to the building, was made by the Vestry of Christ Church, in 1753, and on the 4th of September, 1761, St. Peter's Church was opened with the celebration of public service, and a Sermon preached by Dr. Smith, Provost of the College in Philadelphia. At the conclusion of the service, a plan, agreed upon by the Vestry, for the perpetual union and government of the two Churches was read: and this plan, after receiving further modifications, was ratified, in 1765, by a Charter, granted by Thomas and Richard Penn, Proprietaries of the Province, which constituted the Rector, Churchwardens, and Vestrymen of Christ Church and St. Peter's, and their successors, 'a body politick and corporate[67].' The terms of this Charter were made the subject of careful deliberation between the Proprietaries and Peters, who was in England at the beginning of the year; and were submitted by both parties to the consideration of Secker, then

[67] In 1807, a new Church, St. James's, was united with Christ Church and St. Peter's; and, in 1832, the two latter were erected into separate corporations.

Archbishop of Canterbury, who made at first some grave objections to parts of the scheme, but consented, upon the representation of Peters, to withdraw them. The Vestry thankfully received this Charter; and Peters, returning to Philadelphia before the end of the year, was gladly welcomed by his people, among whom he continued to labour until 1775, when age and infirmities led him to resign his charge.

Rev. Jacob Duché, his successor.

His successor was Jacob Duché, the son of a zealous Lay-member of the Church at Philadelphia, who, having been sent by his father for education to Clare Hall, Cambridge, and ordained by Bishop Sherlock, had, for 16 years, from 1759 to 1775, been an Assistant-minister in the united Churches. The unanimity with which he was raised from the office of Assistant-minister to that of Rector, demonstrates the high reputation which he had acquired in his subordinate position; and hence arises a feeling of regret, that, although he lived for twenty-three years after his appointment to the higher post, his connexion with its duties terminated within little more than two years. The difficulties of that unhappy day of strife were evidently the cause of the separation. Duché, and a majority of the ministers of the Church at Philadelphia, if they did not sympathise with a majority of the Colonists in the conflict with the Mother-country, which was then begun, certainly acquiesced at first in the issue. At a Vestry at which he was present, July 4, 1776, it was resolved, that, as the American Colonies had been declared by Congress to be 'free and independent States,' and as the petition in the Liturgy for the King of Great Britain was inconsistent with that declaration, therefore it ap-

His sentiments on the conflict between England and the American Colonies.

peared 'necessary, for the peace and well-being of the Churches, to omit the said petition; and the Rector and Assistant-ministers of the united Churches were requested to omit' them accordingly. A Sermon also, preached before Congress by Duché, July 7, 1775, entitled, 'The duty of standing fast in our temporal and spiritual duties,' had exhibited opinions at variance with those of a majority of the Clergy, at home and abroad, upon the matters that were so hotly disputed in that day.

Another Sermon, preached twelve days before that of Duché, by Provost Smith, 'On the present situation of American Affairs,' manifested even more strongly the same diversity of judgment, and excited the greatest enthusiasm on both sides of the Atlantic, amongst all who espoused the cause of the Colonists. Tryon, Governor of New York, sent home copies of both these Sermons to the Bishop of London (Terrick); and Smith openly avowed his belief that the severest censure of the Bishop would fall upon Duché and himself for having broached such unpalatable doctrines [68]. The political crisis then fast approaching would probably have led most men, placed in their position, to have thought lightly of the Bishop's censure, even if he had felt it his duty to express it. But Duché informed the Vestry, that, upon a due consideration of the present state of affairs, and his own situation in particular, he had come to a resolution, with their permission (which was cheerfully given), of going to England; as he apprehended he could more fully answer any objections the Bishop of London might have to his conduct, and more easily remove the prejudices he had reason to think the

[68] Smith's Works, ii. 253.

Bishop had imbibed against him. The death of Bishop Terrick that same year (1777), frustrated any benefit which Duché might have hoped to obtain from the proposed interview; and it does not appear that he either sought, or was required to give, any further explanation to Bishop Lowth, the next occupant of the See of London. The resumption, therefore, by him of his charge of the united Churches at Philadelphia, might reasonably have been expected. He had expressed a strong hope that he might be allowed to do so; and the Vestry had echoed the same. But the hope never was fulfilled [69]. Duché continued, indeed, to retain an affectionate and lively interest in all that concerned the welfare of the Church at Philadelphia. He lived always in closest friendship with those who had been his fellow-labourers there. He was present when one of them, honoured and esteemed of all men, received consecration, as the first Bishop of Pennsylvania, in the Chapel of Lambeth Palace. He returned to his native land, and rejoiced to witness the continued course of active and earnest piety pursued by that good man. His body rests in the burial ground of one of the Churches of which he was the honoured minister. But, with the history of the forced separation of England from her Colonies ends that of the connexion of Jacob Duché with the flock which he loved to watch over.

[69] In the first edition of this work, I had expressed myself at a loss to assign a reason for this disappointment. But I have since met with a passage in Galt's Life of West, pp. 41 - 43, from which it appears, that, as the conflict between England and her Colonies went on, Duché's opinions underwent a change; and that he even sought to induce Washington to give up the command of the army which Congress had entrusted to him.

Rev. Thos. Coombe.

His was not the only post which the same events caused to become vacant in the Churches of Philadelphia. Thomas Coombe and William White, both natives of that city, and distinguished from their earliest manhood by the respect and love of their fellow-citizens, had been appointed, upon the same day, Nov. 30, 1772, Assistant-ministers to Peters. About six months after Duché had embarked for England, the Vestry received from Coombe a letter, in which he informed them, that, after long and careful reflection upon the subject, he had been unable to renounce allegiance to the King of Great Britain, and take the oath of fidelity required of him by the American Republic. He describes, in touching terms, the pains which he had taken to arrive at a right decision, and the heavy trials through which he and his family would have to pass, in consequence of the resolution which he had then felt it his duty to adopt. If the Independence which the American States claimed for themselves had been recognised at that time by Great Britain, his difficulties would have vanished; but, as long as such recognition was withheld, no other course seemed right to him save that which he had obtained permission from the Council to pursue,—to proceed within the British lines at New York, and thence to England. The Vestry, howsoever they may have regretted, had no power to gainsay, Coombe's decision; and giving to him, for the information of the Bishop of London, the written testimony of their approval of his conduct during his six years' ministry, were constrained to see him turn away from them.

The Rev. William White,

Of the Clergy who had received from the Church of England commission to

afterwards first Bishop of Pennsylvania.

preach the Word, and minister the Sacraments of Christ, one only now remained in Philadelphia, William White, whose name will ever be held in grateful memory on either side of the Atlantic, as the man who, above all others, was distinguished for the zeal and wisdom and love with which he laboured successfully to renew and strengthen those bonds of Christian brotherhood between England and her Colonies, which the War of Independence snapped for a time asunder. Born, as I have said, in Philadelphia, he had been baptized in the first Church which was built in that city for the celebration of our national worship. There also had he been accustomed, through all the years of boyhood and youth, to praise and pray unto God. There, having received ordination at the hands of his spiritual fathers in England[70], he discharged for seven years the duties of Assistant-minister; and there, for fifty-seven years longer, he continued to be the beloved and honoured Rector. At the commencement, and to the end, of the Revolutionary struggle, his sympathies and judgment were with the Colonists. Without any bitterness, contempt, or anger, towards those who took the opposite side, he scrupled not to avow his belief that the cause of the Colonies was the cause of justice and of truth; and openly cast in his lot among them. Hence his acceptance of the office of Chaplain to Congress, during the war, and his re-appointment to it by the Senate, under the Federal Constitution, as long as Philadelphia was the seat of government.

His sentiments and conduct in the Revolutionary struggle.

[70] He was ordained Deacon, Dec. 23, 1770, by the Bp. of Norwich (Young), under Letters Dimissory from the Bp. of London (Terrick), and Priest, by Bp. Terrick, April 25, 1772.

Washington, to the day of his death, was his firm friend; and, whilst he was President, worshipped regularly at Christ Church, one of those of which White was Rector.

His considerate regard for Duché.

The manner in which White accepted the Rectorship when it was offered to him, in 1779, by an unanimous vote of Vestry, illustrates very remarkably the delicate and generous consideration which he retained for the opinions of others, and the candour and meekness with which he declared his own. He remembered the instruction and kindly treatment which, from earliest childhood, he had received at the hands of Duché, and the harmony which had subsisted between them in their joint ministry at Philadelphia. And seeing that, for some reason which doubtless appeared to him just, Duché still tarried in England, White refused to take such advantage of his absence as would preclude him for ever from the power of resuming his duties. It might be, and probably was, the fact, that Duché still hesitated as to the course which he ought to pursue amid the many and complicated difficulties arising out of the political crisis of the times. And, although from many of these White had extricated himself by his decisive line of action, he still felt for those who, with sincerity equal to his own, viewed the same conflict through a different medium. He begged, therefore, that his letter might be put on record by the Vestry, in which, having expressed his grateful acceptance of their offer, he yet assured them, that, if ever at their desire and that of members of the Churches in general, and with the permission of the civil authority, their former Rector should return, he should esteem it his duty, and it would be his pleasure, to

resign into his hands the charge which he had now received.

His efforts to re-unite the divided members of the Church.

The like spirit characterised White's conduct at every step of his long career of pious usefulness. To knit together again into one the members of that sacred body, which war and faction had divided; to heal its wounds, to restore its exhausted strength, and to see it, "fitly joined together and compacted," "grow up unto Him in all things, which is the head, even Christ,—unto the edifying itself in love,"—this was the great work, for the accomplishment of which he never ceased to watch and to pray. At one time, indeed, the work seemed hopeless. The flocks which had been gathered together were every where scattered abroad; the folds were laid waste; the shepherds who survived had been driven away; and none were ready to come into their room. The province in which White ministered was above all others desolate. For a part of the war, he has himself informed us, that, through the whole extent of it, there was no resident minister but himself[71]. Yet he never cast away hope, never relaxed his labours. Before any prospect appeared of the recognition by England of American Independence, he strove to bring together his scattered and discomfited brethren into fellowship with each other. His scheme, indeed, was imperfect; and he, probably, was the first to rejoice, when tidings of peace with the Mother-country[72] enabled

[71] Bp. White's Memoirs of the Prot. Episc. Ch. in America, 20.

[72] The recognition, by England, of American Independence, was first made in the provisional articles of peace signed at Paris, Nov. 30, 1782. The definitive treaty to that effect was signed at Paris, Sept. 3, 1783, and ratified by Congress, Jan. 4, 1784.

him to propose, and to see, ere long matured, another and more comprehensive scheme, established upon a sound and enduring basis. A description of this scheme more fitly belongs to a latter portion of this work. I will here only remark that the blessing of White's example and influence, in all the early meetings of the General Convention of Clerical and Lay Deputies of the different States, (which he was the chief instrument to establish,) and the first of which took place Sept. 27, 1785 [73], speedily became more extensive and permanent by his unanimous election, Sept. 14, 1786, to the Bishopric of Pennsylvania. He was consecrated to the office of Bishop, in conjunction with Dr. Provoost of New York, in the Chapel of Lambeth Palace, Feb. 4, 1787, by the Archbishops of Canterbury and York (Moore and Markham), the Bishop of Bath and Wells (Moss), and the Bishop of Peterborough (Hinchcliffe). Seabury, Bishop of Connecticut, had already, as we have seen, been consecrated by the Bishops of the Church in Scotland. But many points of importance yet remained to be settled, with respect to the extent of Episcopal jurisdiction thereby introduced into America, and the future status of the Church which it was intended to controul in that country. A large majority also of the American people entertained a strong jealousy lest the attempt to settle these points, by an implicit and unqualified acceptance of Bishop Seabury's authority, might compromise their rights and liberties as citizens of the new Republic. And, unless some other channels of

His consecration to the Bishopric of Pennsylvania.

[73] Preliminary meetings, held indeed for other purposes, but doubtless leading the way to the General Convention, had taken place in Sept. and Oct., 1784.—Bp. White's Memoirs &c. 21, 22.

communication had been opened, little hope would have remained of a satisfactory conclusion to the efforts of those who were then, on both sides of the Atlantic, seeking to effect an union. The fact that a resolution was moved in the Convention, June 22, 1786, that it should do no act that should 'imply the validity of ordinations made by Dr. Seabury,' and that, on the following day, a resolution, nearly to the same effect, was unanimously passed[74], proves the keen and eager spirit of opposition which was ready to break forth. The known opinions of Seabury, and his character for boldness and energy,—valuable as they proved to be in the sequel,—increased the alarm and jealousy which the difficulties of that trying moment awakened in the hearts of most men[75]. But the wisdom, and calmness, and untiring perseverance of White at length succeeded in allaying fears, removing objections, and reconciling differences. On the 5th of October, 1785, an Address from the General Convention to the Archbishops and Bishops of the Church of England was adopted, requesting them to confer the Episcopal character on such persons as should be chosen and recommended to them for that purpose, from the Conventions of their Church in the respective States. To this, an answer was returned by the Archbishops and Bishops, February 24, 1786, expressing their strong desire to obtain for their brethren in America the accomplishment of their prayer; and

[74] Journals of the General Convention, 21.

[75] Bp. Wilberforce has remarked, and, I think, justly, that 'had it been left to Seabury alone to form the temper and mould the institutions of the Western Church, there would have been but little hope of its ever embracing the whole of the jealous population of that wide republic.'—Hist. of the Amer. Ch. 261.

their fears lest alterations might be proposed in their intended Prayer Book, which might be an essential deviation from the Church of England. Further correspondence removed all difficulties; and five months after the above Answer to their Address had been received, the Archbishop of Canterbury forwarded a copy of the Act of Parliament which had been passed, enabling him, or the Archbishop of York, to consecrate to the office of Bishop, 'persons being subjects or citizens of countries out of His Majesty's dominions[76].' Then followed the consecration of Bishop White; and the first public exercise of his authority was seen soon afterwards (May 28, 1787), in Christ Church, Philadelphia, when he ordained Joseph Clarkson to the office of Deacon. But to spare all future candidates for the ministry the necessity of undertaking a voyage of 3000 miles to England and back again, was the least of the benefits thus conferred upon the Church in Philadelphia by the completion of her Episcopal system. A faithful and loving Father in Christ was provided for all her children, who, in the words of remonstrance, urged nearly a century before, was now at last enabled 'to visit the several Churches, ordain some, confirm others, and bless all[77].' In the person of Bishop White, these blessings were mercifully permitted to have their free course for a period of more than 49 years[78]. Having lived, as he acknowledges[79], in days in which such strong prejudices had existed against the name and

[76] See Appendix to this Vol., No. II.

[77] See p. 72, *ante*.

[78] He died July 17, 1836, in the 89th year of his age.

[79] See the Dedication to her Bishops, prefixed by Bp. White to his Memoirs of the Protest. Episc. Ch. in America.

office of a Bishop, that it might have been doubted whether any one who bore them would have been tolerated in the American Republic, he was yet permitted, when he first drew up the Memoirs of that Church over which he and his brethren presided, to see the power of discharging all their duties freely and fully secured to them. Ten Bishops had, at that time, gone to their rest. The nine who survived had been consecrated to their office by his hands; and so were many more who were added to their number during his long life. To the "burning and shining light" of his example may be ascribed, in great degree, the harmony and success with which they, and those who followed them, continued to carry on their work; and the memory of it remains as a precious heritage of the same Church which, day by day, is enlarging her borders on every side [80].

[80] I am indebted for the information which has enabled me to give the above sketch of the Church in Philadelphia, to the Historical Account of Christ Church, &c., in that city, by Dr. Dorr; and, where other references are not given, the reader will understand that all my materials have been derived from this source. Dr. Dorr was elected Rector of Christ Church in 1837; and has ever since retained the office. He was also elected, in 1839, by the Convention of Maryland, to the Bishopric of Maryland, but declined accepting it (ib. 272), from a conviction that it was still his duty to remain in Philadelphia.

The Author takes this opportunity of recording his grateful recollection of the intercourse he had with Dr. Dorr, during his last visit to England.

CHAPTER XXVII.

THE INDIANS AND NEGRO SLAVES OF NORTH AMERICA.

A.D. 1700—1784.

Recapitulation of former notices of the treatment of Indian tribes by English settlers.

THERE is no darker page in the history of the nations of Europe than that which relates their oppression of the aboriginal inhabitants of countries which they have colonised. The tide of native life has been beaten back in well-nigh every quarter into which the stream of her population has poured itself; and the swarthy savages of the west, of the east, of the south, have alike withered, or are withering away, at the approach of the white man. The treatment of the Indian tribes of North America by the English settlers upon their lands, presents no exception to this humiliating story. A long catalogue of such misdeeds, and of their disastrous consequences, has been set before us in the progress of this work. In Virginia, the terrible massacre inflicted by the tribes of Powhatan upon those who had reared their first cabins upon the banks of James River, testified their deep resentment of the wrongs which they had suffered, and the eagerness with which they had

avenged them. True, the young daughter of Powhatan,—who had saved by her entreaties the life of the brave English leader,—had been taken from the bloody and superstitious rites of her native woods; and, receiving the promises of the Gospel, had exhibited, as a Christian wife and mother, evidences of its saving truth. But the history of Pocahuntas is not the history of her race. And the energy with which her kinsman, Opechancanough, renewed at a later period, and in open warfare, his assaults against a governor so powerful as Berkeley, is a proof not to be doubted of the implacable hatred of the Indian against his oppressor, and of the many and shameful cruelties which had provoked it. In Maryland, also, the acts of Calvert and his followers were only calculated to produce the same results. The hatchets and garments which they gave to the simple tribes of the Potomac, in exchange for the thirty miles of territory upon its banks; and the dazzling spectacle which they exhibited before the wondering eyes of the King of Patuxent and his people, were only so many tricks and stratagems by which they succeeded in alarming and defrauding the poor savages, whose lands they designed to occupy [1].

And, turning from these to the annals of the New England Colonies, we have found that, with one distinguished exception, they present not any more cheering testimony. The Charter, indeed, of the Massachusetts' emigrants had declared the end of their Plantation to be the winning 'the natives of the country to the knowledge and obedience of the only true God and Saviour of mankind, and the Christian

[1] Vol. i. 238. 273. 486; ii. 2, 3.

faith;' and the Seal attached to it symbolised the same truth. The covenant also, which they drew up and subscribed upon their settlement at Salem, contained the expression of their solemn promise, not to lay 'a stumbling-block before any, no, not the Indians, whose good' they professed themselves anxious 'to promote.' And yet we have been compelled to show that the acts of the Pilgrim Fathers agreed not with their words; that, while a regard to their immediate personal interests induced them to cultivate the good-will of Massasoit, the chief of the Pokanokets, among whom their first settlements were planted, no systematic effort was made for many years towards the spiritual improvement of any of the aborigines; that, during those years, the Puritan emigrants were guilty of many acts of cruelty and oppression towards them; that, as their people spread out their Colonies to the south, the native population was driven back or destroyed; that the plantation of Connecticut and Newhaven was simultaneous with the Pequod war, which left not a warrior, or woman, or child, surviving out of all that numerous tribe; and that, a few years afterwards, Metacom, or King Philip, the son of Massasoit, indignant at the gradual intrusion of the English upon lands which the red man claimed as his own, commenced a harassing and murderous war against them, which ended in his own death, the defeat and dispersion of his people, and the extermination of the Naragansett Indians, his allies. In these and such like acts of mutual hostility between the native tribes of North America and the New England Colonists, the greater part of the 17th century passed away[2].

[2] Vol. ii. 193—196.

The solitary exception, indeed, of Eliot's example, who, throughout a period of more than fifty years, laboured to bring the light of truth and peace to those who were living in the darkness of savage ignorance, and thereby won for himself the honoured title of 'Apostle of the Indians,' is one to which I have already borne willing and grateful testimony [3].

The French Jesuit Missionaries in Canada.

Others there were, also,—to their honour be it freely acknowledged!—who, before and during the time of Eliot's ministry, evinced, in their constant efforts to preach the Gospel of Christ to the Indians of the north and of the west, a zeal and courage and devotion which have never been surpassed. They were not, indeed, of our country, or of our communion. Nay, more; they belonged to an Order of men, in whom neither the Church nor State of England can place any trust, nor with whom they can hold any fellowship; whose very name has become a by-word amongst most of the civilised nations of the earth, to denote whatsoever is crafty, turbulent, insidious. And that these hateful associations have not been without cause attached to the name of Jesuit, is proved by the fact that they who have been brought into closest contact with the Order which it designates, have learnt most to dread and to abhor its doctrines and its practices. Hence the actual suppression of the Order in those very countries from which issued its chief leaders, and by the edicts of that very Church whose alliance and protection gave to it its first authority [4]. Notwithstanding these facts, it is impossible to deny to the French Jesuit Missionaries

[3] Vol. ii. 196—208.

[4] Ranke's History of the Popes, b. viii. *in loc.*

in Canada, throughout the whole of the 17th century, the exercise of an ardent, stedfast, self-denying faith. I have already noticed their first introduction into that country, under the celebrated French Governor, Champlain; and the briefest glance at their proceedings afterwards overwhelms the mind with awe and wonder. Theirs were the Churches and Colleges and Hospitals of Quebec; theirs the glory of penetrating the pathless forest, of traversing lake and river, of enduring hunger and cold and nakedness, of braving even death itself in its most frightful form, if only they might bring the children of the howling wilderness to the knowledge and service of Christ Jesus. From the waters of Niagara to Lake Superior; among the Huron tribes, the Mohawks, the Onondagas, the Wyandots, the Sennekas, and the Algonquins of Lake Nipissing; to the south and south-east, as far as the river Kennebec, and thence to the mouth of the Penobscot; again, to the far west, through Michigan, Wisconsin, and Illinois, even to the valley and down the river of the Mississippi; at every season, and in every place, the unwearied French Missionary was seen, winning his way to the red man's home. Sometimes lost amidst the trackless snow or forests,—at other times, hurried in his light canoe down some fearful rapid,—he perished, and was never heard of more. Of some, the tidings came home to their brethren, that they had met with death more terrible even than this; having been tortured by every art of savage cruelty; compelled to run the gauntlet through lines of murderers; or burnt, or scalped, or starved; or mutilated in every limb with axe and tomahawk. Yet none quailed or faltered. New men instantly pressed on, with bold and cheerful heart, to fill up the places of

the fallen; and, again, the intrepid soldiers of the Cross went forward. Achievements and sufferings such as these make up, for the most part, the history of the Jesuit Missionaries of Canada, whilst that country was under the dominion of the French. And, as we read the pages which record them, and mark the stedfastness of that faith which animated the hearts of Goupil and Jogues and Lallemand and Brebeuf and Daniel in their martyrdom, or the strength of that heroic perseverance which sustained Alloüez and Dablon and Marquette in their perilous wanderings; we feel that we should violate the truth, and stifle those purest emotions of the heart in which truth rejoices, did we either altogether withhold, or only with niggard and reluctant spirit acknowledge, the praise which is their due[5].

Reasons why like efforts could not be made, at the same time, by the Church of England.

If it be asked, Why has not the record come down to us of like achievements and sufferings, at this time, in the same or the adjoining countries, on the part of Missionaries of the Church of England? I answer by referring the reader to the facts which have been so repeatedly pressed upon his attention in the course of the present work. He will have seen that the age in which England first gained a footing in foreign lands, was the age in which first sprang up within her bosom those disturbing influences which, in a few years, laid her strength and honours in the dust, and the effects of which are felt by her people to this very hour. True, the Church of Rome lost, in the same age, the brightest jewel of her

[5] Relation de ce qui s'est passé en la Nouvelle France, 1633—1675.

diadem; for England and some of the greatest nations of Europe no longer remained to be partakers of her corruptions, or slaves of her will. Nevertheless, in the ampler Colonial territories of Spain and Portugal and France, she not only had still the power to set up ensigns of her worship, free from the assaults of any enemies who weakened her strength from within, or who clamoured for her destruction from without; but that very Order of men, to whose wondrous exertions I have referred, arose to help her. It was not so with England. She not only received not any new aid, but the instruments of usefulness already belonging to her were daily diminished and enfeebled.

Her calamities were not only coeval with, but, in many instances, the direct proximate causes which led to, the settlement of her Transatlantic Colonies; and hence, within the narrower limits of those Colonies, when the self-same elements of discord were produced, as they could not fail to be, the shock of collision was more violent, and the result of it more destructive. Meanwhile, the growing number and greatness of the perils which encompassed the Church of England kept pace with the growth of disturbance and disaffection in the kingdom in which she was planted. The temporal powers with which she was armed betrayed her into a false position, and turned into aliens those who had been her children. The sharp crisis of the conflict quickly came, and she fell beneath it. The years in which the French Jesuit was sent forth to the savage tribes of the wilderness were the years which saw the Church of England persecuted, proscribed, plundered, cast down to the ground. Her restoration, indeed, followed with the restoration of the Stuart kings; but we have seen that in the very hour in which she was

commanded to "arise" and "shake" herself "from the dust," and put on her "beautiful garments," a poisonous atmosphere hung over her, impairing the exercise of her noblest energies [6].

Her efforts to do what she could.

The real question, therefore, which claims consideration is, not why the Church of England, in her humiliation and distress, was unable to compete with the Church of Rome, in her towering strength; but what evidences did she exhibit, either when her trials were at hand, or when they had actually overtaken her, of a desire to make the plantation of foreign settlements a means of communicating to the native inhabitants of those countries the light of Christian truth? An answer to the question may be derived from the notices which I have already traced of the public recognition of this duty by her rulers, and by the efforts which they, or individual members of the Church, acting with and under them, have made towards its accomplishment. And, gathering these together into one, we shall find that the Charters of Elizabeth and James I. which led to the settlement of Newfoundland and Virginia, expressly acknowledged the obligation of this duty [7]; that the same was confessed and obeyed by the men who conducted these enterprises [8]; that Ralegh, the foremost of them all, was also the first whose name has come down to us as having given a large offering in money for the avowed purpose of propagating the Christian faith in Virginia [9]; that the command went forth from the throne of the first James to the Archbishops and Bishops of our Church, and through them

[6] Vol. ii. 263—266.
[7] Vol. i. 48. 50. 165.
[8] Ib. 66. 71.
[9] Ib. 77.

was repeated in every Parish in the land, summoning all the people to promote the like work [10]; that the word of exhortation, spoken from her pulpits by her leading ministers to those who were about to leave England for foreign parts, or to others who still held rule at home, lent its weightiest power to the enforcement of the same duty [11]; that the institution of Henrico College in Virginia was for the express purpose of protecting and educating children of the native Indians; that the officers and members of the Virginia Company gave many and noble offerings towards its support, and were encouraged by the sympathy and support of all ranks and classes of the people, both at home and abroad, in the prosecution of the same work [12]; that the first formal application to an English House of Commons to regard the spiritual condition of the native tribes of America, was addressed to the Long Parliament, at an early period of its sitting, by some whose names are yet held in grateful memory as the foremost masters of our Israel [13]; that a like faithful and compassionate regard was evinced by others of our countrymen, who then attempted to plant settlements in other parts of the western world [14]; that our Church, as soon as she was permitted, at the Restoration, to resume her functions, publicly avowed, in the Book of Common Prayer, her desire to be engaged in the same work, and pointed to additions then introduced into that book, as made for the express purpose of promoting it [15]; that Morgan Godwyn, the earliest and boldest and most unwearied advocate of the Negro and the Indian, was one of her ordained

[10] Ib. 255.
[11] Ib. 190—199. 270.
[12] Ib. 256—258.
[13] Vol. ii. 10—16.
[14] Ib. 42.
[15] Ib. 250—253.

ministers, who, witnessing the wrongs endured by the slaves of Virginia and Barbados, stood up to proclaim to them the promises of Christ's Gospel, and called upon his countrymen at home to help him, in words of which the record still remains to demonstrate his faithfulness and zeal[16]; that another of her Clergy, Dr. Bray, the first who organised and put in action, at home and abroad, those instruments for promoting the knowledge of Christian truth, and the observance of Christian ordinances, which the Church has ever since employed, gave freely "of" his "penury," and stirred up others to give "of their abundance," that thereby the children of the Negro race might be gathered into Christ's fold; that the evidences of his love are to be seen in the work which is carried on, even to this hour, in association with his name[17]; that the exertions, thus directed for the welfare of the heathen in the west, were emulated by those of Prideaux and of Boyle, in behalf of the inhabitants of the east[18]; and that, therefore, not as a mere idle badge, but as a solemn symbol of the high and holy purposes which the Church is bound unceasingly to carry onward, the Society,—reared up within her bosom more than a century and a half ago, to effect those purposes, and whose history we are now reviewing,—chose for the device of its seal, and affixed the same at the head and front of its first published records, the picture of people gathered upon a distant shore, welcoming with eager looks a vessel which draws near, with a minister of the Gospel of peace standing at the prow, and saying to him, in the words of the "man of Mace-

[16] Vol. ii. 297, &c. [17] Ib. 404—420.
[18] Ib. 474—486.

donia" to St. Paul, in his vision at Troas, "Come over, and help us."

Thoroughgood Moor's Mission to the Iroquois.

A further illustration of her desire to be engaged in the performance of this duty is seen in the tabular statement which accompanies the first Report of the Society [19]. In that wide field of enterprise, the first department is assigned to the 'Iroquois, or praying Indians;' and Thoroughgood Moor and another Missionary are described as receiving, each of them, in addition to other allowances, the stipend of £100 a year for the services which they were directed to carry on among them. The Iroquois, who lived on the frontier of New York, embraced the five nations of the Mohawks, Oneydoes, Onondagas, Cayongas, and Sennekas [20], all of whom, together with the River Indians at Shakook, above Albany, are enumerated in the same part of the Report, as especial objects of the Society's care, and in whose behalf further help was urgently demanded [21]. The case of the Indians in the neighbourhood of Albany had been pressed upon the Society's notice by Livingstone, Secretary for Indian affairs in the province of New York, who described them as anxious to receive instruction, and pointed

[19] See Appendix to this Volume.

[20] Colden's History of the Five Indian Nations.

[21] Jefferson, in his Notes on Virginia, 167—173, gives a list of no less than 67 different tribes of Indians within the limits of the United States, and 29 more tribes which lived to the north and west. Many of these tribes, he says, p. 70, spoke languages so radically different as to require the aid of interpreters when they transacted business. Others, again, whose language, in some respects, was the same, diversified it in endless ways by variety of dialects. Hence arose one of the greatest difficulties which every European had to encounter in his intercourse with them.

out the advantage likely to result from their union with the English Church, in the barrier which such union would present against the increasing influence of the French Jesuits. Similar political considerations had been urged by Lord Bellamont, Governor of New York, in a Memorial which he addressed, in the year 1700, to the Lords of Trade and Plantations, on behalf of the Five Nations of Indians; and, in consequence of this Memorial, a plan was agreed upon immediately upon Anne's accession, and referred to Archbishop Tenison, by authority of the Queen in Council, for the appointment of two Clergymen to minister among their various tribes. Aware of the peculiar difficulties which a stranger would have to encounter in fulfilling this Mission, the Society, before whom the matter was laid by the Archbishop, first invited Dellius, who had for some years ministered among the Dutch settlers at Albany,—a town situated upon the River Hudson, a hundred miles from New York,—and also Freeman, a Calvinist minister at Schenectady, a village twenty miles from Albany,—to undertake its duties. The knowledge which both these men had acquired of the language and habits of the Indians, and which, in the case of Freeman, had enabled him already to translate several portions of Scripture into the Iroquois tongue, obviously gave them great facilities for commencing such a work. But they were unable to enter upon the task. It was consequently entrust d to Thoroughgood Moor, who arrived at New York in 1704, and was received with much apparent kindness by Cornbury. He repaired forthwith to Albany, where he occupied himself with learning the language, and gaining the good will and friendship, of the Indians who resorted to that town

for trade. As soon as the snow was broken up, he travelled to 'the Mohawks' Castle,' whither one of the Sachems, or petty kings, had invited him to come, and impart to them that instruction which he and his people professed themselves most anxious to receive. A fair opening thus seemed to present itself for Moor's exertions; but it soon proved to be delusive. The Sachem pleaded the absolute necessity of obtaining the consent of the other four nations before he could answer Moor's proposal to reside among them; yet always contrived some artful excuse whereby the answer might be delayed. The influence of the French, it is said, was actively employed to frustrate any attempt of the English to gain the confidence of the Indians; and this may account, in some degree, for the failure of Moor's attempt. But, had this been the only obstacle, he would have struggled all the more earnestly to remove it; and his patient stedfastness forbids us to believe that the effort would have been unsuccessful.

His ill treatment by Lord Cornbury.

Moor was denied the privilege of putting his earnestness to the proof, through the gross misconduct of one who ought to have been the first to support him. After waiting nearly a year at Albany and in its neighbourhood, in the vain hope of being allowed to establish himself among the Indians, he withdrew to New York, where he informed the Society of the reasons which had compelled him to desist for a time from his enterprise. He thence proceeded to Burlington, with the view of assisting in the duties of the Church at that place; and his zeal soon drew down upon him the wrath of the Governor. Cornbury, grandson of the celebrated Earl of Clarendon, had been one of the first who quickened

the success of the Revolution in England by joining the Prince of Orange, whilst he lay at Exeter, and the issue of his expedition was yet doubtful. A man of profligate habits, of mean abilities, and headstrong temper, he became a convenient tool to execute the designs of others; and the close relationship and known devotion of his family to the throne which was then in peril, gave to his early defection an importance which could scarcely be too highly estimated by the adherents of William [22]. Some years elapsed before any substantial reward was conferred upon Cornbury for this timely service. And when at length it came, it was in its most hurtful form. Upon the death of Bellamont, a nobleman deservedly held in the highest estimation by the people of New England [23], Cornbury was appointed his successor in the government of New York and New Jersey [24]. Although a bankrupt alike in fortune and reputation at home, it was yet deemed right to entrust to his hands the interests of an important Colony abroad. A series of the grossest acts of outrage, committed under his authority, drove him in a few years from his post; but not until he had made Moor, like many others, the victim of his cruelty [25]. At one time, he ordered Moor to dis-

[22] Macaulay's History of England, ii. 501—504. 536.

[23] Grahame's History of the United States, iii. 17—21.

[24] The government of Massachusetts and New Hampshire was, at the same time, made over to Joseph Dudley. Ib. 21—24.

[25] The article on Cornbury in Allen's Amer. Biog. Dict, written in the unfair spirit of partisanship which I have already noticed (p. 245, *note*, *ante*), would make it appear that he was a tyrant only to Nonconformists; and that he acted thus out of 'unequalled zeal for the Church.' No notice at all is taken of the fact, which the above cases of Moor supplies, that, where the opportunity pre-

continue his practice of administering the Holy Communion once a fortnight, deeming it to be too frequent; an order, which he could neither legally enforce, nor Moor, with a good conscience, obey. At another time, he used to dress himself as a woman, and walk publicly in that disgraceful garb along the ramparts of the town. And, when Moor rebuked him for such scandalous practices, Cornbury cast him into prison. Moor soon afterwards escaped, and embarked for England; but the vessel in which he sailed is supposed to have been lost at sea, for no tidings were ever heard of her. Thus brief and disastrous was the career of the first English Missionary to the Iroquois [26].

And death.

Friendly feeling of the Indians towards England.

A favourable opportunity, indeed, had once been presented of gaining the confidence of the Indians, at a conference which Cornbury held with some of their Sachems at Albany. Talbot, in his account of this conference, reports the gladness of the Sachems at hearing that the sun had shone again in England since King William's death, and their wonder at finding that such a mighty empire should be ruled by 'a squaw Sachem,' namely, a woman king. They hoped, how-

sented itself, Cornbury treated with like injustice both Churchman and Dissenter.

[26] Humphreys, 283—291; Hawkins, 264—266. 271. 281. The departure of Moor and the deposition of Cornbury occurred about the same time, in 1708. The latter was succeeded by Lord Lovelace, and, as soon as he was superseded, was placed by his creditors in the custody of the sheriff of New York. Upon the death of his father, the second Earl of Clarendon in 1709, he was allowed to return to England, where he died, without male issue, in 1723. His titles descended to his cousin, and not long afterwards became extinct. Allen's Biog. Dict. *in loc.*; Collins's Peerage, ix. 402.

ever, that Queen Anne 'would be a good mother, and send some to teach them religion, and establish traffic amongst them, that they might be able to purchase a coat, and not go to church in bear-skins.' In token of their good will, they sent the Queen a present, 'ten beaver-skins to make her fine, and one fur muff to keep her warm.' And after some further compliments, they then signed a treaty, which, if it were not cast into the sea, they declared 'thunder and lightning should not break on their part[27].' Had Cornbury been a man able and willing to profit by such an opportunity, the friendly relations which might have followed would have furnished an excellent basis for Missionary work; but every thing was frustrated for a time by his misconduct.

Visit of Indian Sachems to England.

The confidence of the Indians was, in a few years afterwards, secured to the English government by political considerations, through the influence of Colonels Nicholson and Schuyler. In 1710, four of their Sachems arrived in England, to solicit aid against the French in Canada. They were received every where with hearty welcome; followed with eager curiosity by all classes of the English people; and introduced into the presence of Queen Anne, to whom they presented their belts of wampum, and addressed a speech, of which the report is still extant[28], assuring Her Majesty that they had come, in the name

Their Speech to Queen Anne.

[27] Hawkins, 33. See also First Report of S. P. G. in the Appendix to this Volume.

[28] It is given at length in a curious Tract contained in Kennett's Collection (see pp. 54—56, *ante*), which has rude engravings of the four Sachems upon the title-page, and ends with the copy of an epilogue delivered in their presence at the theatre, in which their

of all their brethren, from 'the other side of the great waters;' and, having, 'in token of friendship, hung up the kettle' of peace, 'and taken up the hatchet' of war, were ready to join her and her subjects in their meditated assault upon the French possessions. The speech ended with the following sentence:

Since we have been in alliance with our great Queen's children, we have had some knowledge of the Saviour of the world; and have often been importuned by the French, both by the insinuations of their priests, and by presents, to come over to their interest, but have always esteemed them men of falsehood. But if our great Queen will be pleased to send over some persons to instruct us, they shall find a most hearty welcome.

Its insincerity.

The sincerity of the Indians in employing such language may well be questioned. At all events, it directly contradicted the speech of one of their Sachems to Bellamont, June 28, 1700, in which he declared that he was 'solely beholden to the French of Canada' for his knowledge of a Saviour; and, although he would be glad to learn that the English were 'at last so piously inclined to take some pains to instruct their Indians in the Christian religion,' he had never heard 'the least mention made' of any such attempt[29]. Nor is this the only evidence of duplicity upon the part of these Indian ambassadors. In spite of their strong expressions of hostility to the French,

visit to the English court is compared with that of the Queen of Sheba to the court of Solomon. The sensation caused by the appearance of these Sachems in England may be learnt also from the allusions made to them in the Tatler, No. 171, and Spectator, No. 50.

[29] See Report, introduced in the First Report of S. P. G., in the Appendix to this Volume. It is a remarkable proof of the candour of the Society that so emphatic an acknowledgment of the zeal of the French Jesuit Missionaries should have been thus unreservedly made by them.

we find the Five Nations were so unwilling to renounce their treaty of neutrality, that Hunter, who succeeded Lovelace, as Governor of New York, felt it impolitic to invoke their aid against the attacks which the Canadian Indians were continually making upon the New York frontier[30]. Their conduct also, with regard to those whom they professed themselves so eager to receive from England as their instructors in Christianity, was marked by like insincerity. Lord Sunderland, then one of the principal Secretaries of State, enclosed, by the Queen's command, a copy of their speech to the Archbishop of Canterbury, with a request that he would submit the same to the Society, and report their answer without loss of time. The Society immediately expressed their readiness to send out two Missionaries to the Mohawk and Oncydas tribes, at a stipend of £150 each, together with an interpreter and Schoolmaster. The Queen, upon her part, commanded that a fort, with a Chapel, and residence for the minister, should be erected near the Mohawks' castle, about 200 miles distant from New York, and be garrisoned with twenty soldiers under the command of an officer. Towards the end of 1712, Andrews arrived at Albany as the Indian Missionary, accompanied by a Schoolmaster, Oliver, and by an interpreter, Clausen, who, during a long imprisonment among the Indians, had acquired an intimate knowledge of their language, and been employed for several years in the capacity of interpreter by the Government of New York. The Sachems, who had visited England, met Andrews and his party at Albany with every demonstration of joy; and the like

Mission among the Mohawks under Andrews.

[30] Grahame's History of the United States, iii. 49.

feelings of grateful welcome appeared to be shared by all their people, when he arrived at the fort prepared for his reception. They came in numbers to hear the instruction which Andrews, with the help of Clausen, diligently imparted to them; and as many as understood English were frequent attendants at the Chapel which had been built in the fort, and to which Queen Anne and Archbishop Tenison had given books and other offerings for the due celebration of Divine Service. The Indians sent their children also with apparent readiness to the school which had been quickly opened by Oliver; and the Mission, at its earliest stage, wore a most hopeful aspect. But jealousies and opposition soon broke out. The parents insisted at the outset that their children should not be taught English, and thereby multiplied, at every step, the difficulties of instruction. Andrews, finding it impossible to move their stubborn prejudices, gave way. The teacher was thus forced to become the pupil, and to learn, as he best could, a strange and barbarous dialect, before he could communicate any part of that knowledge which, even had he been allowed the use of his own mother tongue, he would have found it no easy task to have conveyed. The attempt was rendered only not hopeless by the timely assistance of Freeman, whom Bellamont had formerly engaged to preach the Gospel to the Indians, and whose continued services in the same work the Society had tried ineffectually to secure. Freeman had translated into the Mohawk language the Morning and Evening Prayer of our Liturgy, the whole Gospel of St. Matthew, and several other portions of the Scriptures. He freely gave these translations to Andrews, who soon qualified himself to read them so as to be understood by his Indian hearers.

His success at first.

The greater part were afterwards printed at New York, by direction and at the charge of the Society, and copies distributed by Andrews among such of the Indians as could profit by them. A marked improvement was observed in the conduct of those who were the most diligent in their attendance upon his ministry, and he baptised many, both men and women. He had the satisfaction also of witnessing the like results among the Oncydas, another of the Five Nations, whom he went to visit, and whose castle was a hundred miles distant from that of the Mohawks.

His subsequent failure.

Then came the hour of disappointment. The men grew weary of restraints to which, for a time, they had submitted; and, taking their children with them, went forth again to the chase and to the battle, committing with greediness the self-same vices which they had pretended to abhor. Drunkenness, and fraud, and violence; the infliction of cruel torture upon enemies whom they had conquered in fight, or surprised by stratagem; and a contemptuous disregard of marriage vows in the treatment of their women;—these had been the reproach of their former savage life; and the renewed indulgence of these by men who had heard, and professed to reverence, the lessons of Christian holiness, served but to make still heavier the guilt and burden of that reproach. Other causes of jealousy and division began also to operate. A story was circulated among the Canadian Indians by Jesuit emissaries, respecting a box of papers which, they said, belonged to the English, and had been found at Quebec, containing papers which showed that the purpose of the English in erecting a fort among the Iroquois was only for the purpose of cutting them all off. Moreover, the Tuscararo Indians, who had been

driven by the English from North Carolina, and had settled among the Iroquois, did what they could to make the story appear credible, by detailing the particulars of their own hard usage at the hands of the English. The Mohawks lent a willing hear to these reports; joined in the taunting reproaches which the propagators of them heaped upon Andrews and his fellow-labourers; withdrew their children from the school, and themselves from the Chapel, which they had been accustomed to attend; and threatened the English teachers with violence, and even death, should they venture beyond the walls of the fort. Andrews wrote home, in 1718, an account of the difficulties and dangers which surrounded him; and, seeing no hope of remedy, requested leave to retire. The Society, although much disheartened, and having no reason to doubt the wisdom and energy of Andrews, yet would not decide so important a matter without further counsel. They referred it therefore to Governor Hunter; and, finding that his judgment agreed with that of Andrews, reluctantly gave orders that the work, thus inauspiciously begun among the Iroquois, should for the present cease [31].

Mission of the Rev. Henry Barclay.

But faithful men in their service were still watching with attentive and anxious hearts the condition of the Indian tribes, and did what they could to guide them into the way of peace. The foremost of these was Henry Barclay, who, in 1709, had been appointed Missionary and Catechist at Albany. On account of the frontier position of that important settlement, it had been a frequent object of attack by the French and their Indian allies,

[31] Humphreys, 282—311; Hawkins, 264—269.

and was protected by a strong fort and garrison of 200 soldiers. Its inhabitants were chiefly Dutch settlers, who carried on an extensive trade with the Indians, and maintained also a large number of Negro slaves. A zealous and affectionate Dutch minister, Dellius, had for some years lived in the confidence of all classes of people at Albany; and, on the account of his high character, the Society had desired to employ him among the Iroquois. The necessity of returning to Europe prevented him from undertaking the duty; but the influence which he had acquired among the Indian traders supplied facilities for further intercourse with them, of which Barclay eagerly availed himself. He was evidently a man fitted to gain the respect and love of those with whom he was brought into relation. During the absence of Dellius, the Dutch inhabitants thankfully attended his ministry at the small Chapel belonging to them, where he read the English Liturgy, and preached to them in their own tongue; and many became devoted members of the Church of England. The influence also which he acquired among the other inhabitants of Albany, especially the garrison, may be learnt from the manner in which, after he had been seven years among them, he succeeded in building a handsome stone Church by the free-will offerings of the people. Of the £600 thus subscribed, the soldiers alone contributed £100. The town of Albany furnished £200, and Governor Hunter supplied materials for the building as well as money. Assistance was given also by other places in the province, among which the village of Schenectady, the remotest settlement of the English at that time, was the most conspicuous. All its inhabitants, except one, who was very poor, gave

Church at Albany.

Schenectady.

what they could; and their offerings amounted to £50 currency. They could scarcely have hoped to profit, in their own persons, by the Church at Albany, for they lived twenty miles distant. But they held in grateful recollection the constant visits which Barclay paid to them.

Barclay's efforts to reclaim the Indians,

There were others, besides the simple villagers of Schenectady, whose benefit Barclay had in view by extending his visits to that place, namely, the Indians who resorted thither for traffic. From the commencement, Barclay had felt the deepest interest on their behalf. He had accompanied Andrews and his party upon their first going up to the Mohawks' castle[32]; and had there witnessed those hopeful demonstrations of welcome which were so soon followed by estrangement and failure. Barclay's own ministrations among the Indians, although pursued with unwearied diligence, and the same conciliatory kindness which had made them so successful among others, appeared not at first to bear any fruit. He nevertheless persevered in the discharge of them; striving to break up the hard ground of the savage heart, and to scatter upon it the seed of immortal life; and praying that He who was the only Lord, both of seed-time and of harvest, might give the increase. Among the Negro slaves also of Albany he carried on the like work, and was permitted, in many instances, to see its beneficial results[33].

And Negroes.

Ministry among the Mohawks,

The followers of Barclay renewed the same diligent ministry among the Indians;

[32] Humphreys, 297.

[33] Ib. 213—217; Hawkins, 282, 283.

and the larger measure of success which attended them, we can hardly be permitted to doubt, was a consequence of those labours which had appeared to him of little profit. Miln, who was appointed in 1729 to the Mission at Albany [34], paid periodical visits to the Mohawks; and the reports forwarded to the Society, from 1731 to 1735, by the commanding officer of the garrison, of the good effects produced among them by his services, were of the most cheering character.

of the Rev. John Miln,

In 1735, Miln recommended that Henry Barclay, son of his own predecessor, should be appointed Catechist to the Mohawks at Fort Hunter; and, upon the removal of Miln to the Mission in Monmouth county, in 1737, Barclay had given such good proof of his ability and zeal, that he was summoned to England for ordination. All classes of people at Albany and its neighbouring stations hailed his return with thankfulness; and the Indians shed tears of joy as they welcomed him to the fort where he had first made known to them the Word of Life. For more than eight years, Barclay continued to carry on his work with uninterrupted success. The Indians especially gave evidence not to be mistaken of improvement; receiving carefully his instruction; attending decently in the services of public worship which he conducted; and ceasing, for the greater part, to indulge the vice of drunkenness, which, in former years, had prevailed as a pest among them. In 1743, only two or three out of the whole tribe remained unbaptised.

And of the Rev. Henry Barclay the younger.

[34] During the last few years of Barclay's life, the support which he received from Albany released the Society from the expenses of the mission. But they were soon obliged again to undertake its charge. Humphreys, 217.

Barclay's long residence among the natives gave him the advantages of an intimate acquaintance with their habits and language; and he availed himself of these to the uttermost. The Mohawks themselves also came forward as his assistants in the work. Two were appointed Schoolmasters, and were most diligent and successful: one of whom, Cornelius, was a Sachem of the tribe [35].

Then followed the French war and all its desolating results, making the fair province of Albany a wilderness, and breaking asunder the cords of brotherhood which had so long bound together Barclay and his Indian converts. So little prospect, indeed, was there of his being able to carry on with any benefit his ministry among them at that period, that, upon the death of the excellent Rector of Trinity Church, New York, Mr. Vesey [36], in 1746, Barclay accepted the invitation of the Vestry to be his successor in that important post.

And of the Rev. John Ogilvie.

The Indian Mission, however, did not long remain vacant. In 1748, Ogilvie, formerly a student at Yale College, and possessing the highest qualifications for the office, was appointed to it; and continued, for many years, in the patient, and (in spite of many difficulties) successful, discharge of its duties. He felt, indeed, at every step, how greatly they were aggravated by all the horrors of war. Yet he had the satisfaction of knowing that the Mohawks, even in the field, observed still the teaching of good old Abraham, their Catechist, and one of their own Sachems; and joined regularly in the morning and evening prayers which he read among them. He

[35] Hawkins, 283—285.

[36] See Vol. ii. 439.

was himself also an eye-witness of other cheering evidences of a like nature, displayed by the Mohawk warriors, when he served with the army under General Amherst,—such (he says) as 'would have been a noble subject for the pen of one of the Jesuits of Canada,'—and which he describes with great simplicity and modesty. The undeviating loyalty of the Mohawks to the British Crown, was the legitimate result of principles of truth thus faithfully given and received. Examples of treachery and desertion in others were constantly renewed; but the Mohawks alone of all the Indian tribes continued stedfast.

Wolfe's glorious victory (1759), followed by the capture of Quebec, at length opened to the inhabitants of the northern provinces of America the prospect of tranquillity; and the last recorded evidence which I have been able to meet with of Ogilvie's feelings whilst he contemplated this change, is the expression of his deep thankfulness that there was 'no more leading into captivity, no more complaining in their streets;' and his earnest prayer that the re-establishment of a safe and honourable peace throughout the land, might lead to the wider and more rapid spread of the knowledge of 'the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom He hath sent[37].'

Sir William Johnson.

Of the men who sympathised with Ogilvie and strove to promote the accomplishment of his prayer, none was more earnest and zealous, or deserves to be held in more grateful remembrance, on either side of the Atlantic, than Sir William Johnson. Born in Ireland about the year 1714, he had been invited by his uncle, Sir Peter Warren, to come out to

[37] Hawkins, 283—291.

the Mohawk country, and assist him in taking charge of an extensive territory which he had there purchased. Johnson, then twenty years old, readily undertook the office; and, from that hour, manifested an affectionate interest in the welfare of the Indian tribes which ceased only with his life. The knowledge of their language and habits, which he soon acquired, was made by his natural gifts of eloquence a powerful instrument to impress their minds with reverence towards him; and the hearty readiness with which he proved himself, upon all occasions, to be their friend, gained for him their entire and grateful confidence. These qualifications—rare in their separate form, but in their combination unequalled, at that time,—marked Johnson as the fittest man to be appointed Superintendent of Indian Affairs in New York; and, about the year 1759, that important office was wisely entrusted to his hands by the government. He had already evinced, during the French war, military talents of a very high order; and, for the services performed by him near Crown Point, George II. conferred on him the title of Baronet, and the House of Commons voted him a grant of £5000. He distinguished himself also, at a later period, in the expedition against Niagara; and, in 1760, when Amherst embarked at Oswego to proceed against Canada, Johnson appeared at the head of a thousand Iroquois Indians,—the largest number which had ever been assembled in alliance with the British forces.

His connexion with the Rev. John Stuart,

At the termination of the war, Johnson was still conspicuous for his zeal in promoting the best interests of the Mohawks. The appointment by the Society of the Rev. John Stuart, at Fort Hunter, in 1770, was the

result of Johnson's recommendation; and the translation by Stuart of the Gospel of St. Mark into the Mohawk tongue, with other works drawn up by him in the same language, explanatory of the Bible and Catechism, was also owing to Johnson's advice and encouragement. Stuart, who has been justly styled by the present Bishop of Toronto, Dr. Strachan, 'the Father of the Church in Upper Canada,' has left behind him many a signal monument of his unwearied diligence and zeal; and no where are the benefits of his faithful ministrations to be more distinctly traced than in his first field of labour, the Mohawk country [38].

And the Rev. Charles Inglis.

Charles Inglis also, one of the most eminent Missionaries of the Society at New York, and afterwards the first Bishop of Nova Scotia [39], devoted much time and labour to the service of the Mohawks, and found in Sir William Johnson his constant adviser and most efficient fellow-helper in all that he undertook for their welfare. The watchfulness and hearty energy of Johnson were only equalled by the largeness and generosity of spirit with which he gave of his worldly means to extend the Christian Faith in the land of his adoption. Recognising the Church of England as one of the choicest instruments to be employed in that work, he had always felt a keen and sorrowful sense of the difficulties

[38] Hawkins, 320. 339. For an account of Stuart's missionary life, see Hawkins's Annals of the Diocese of Toronto, c. i.

[39] Dr. John Inglis, son of the first Bishop, walked afterwards in the steps of his father, as a Missionary of the Society, equally faithful and blessed in the fruit of his labours; and, in 1825, was consecrated Bishop over the same Diocese of Nova Scotia. Dr. Stanser, its second Bishop, who presided over it between Dr. Charles and Dr. John Inglis, was consecrated in 1816.

cast in her way in the American Colonies through the absence of a local Episcopate. He had joined, again and again, in the earnest prayer for the redress of this wrong; and, in token of his desire to do what he could towards its attainment, he conveyed to the Society, several years before his death, 20,000 acres of land in the neighbourhood of Schenectady, as a basis for the future endowment of an Episcopate. In 1774, this laborious and devoted Lay-member of the Church finished his course [40].

Mr. St. George Talbot.

I would here bear grateful testimony to the noble character and services of another Lay-member of the Church at this time, St. George Talbot, who dedicated the energies of an active life, and the resources of an ample fortune, to strengthen her hands in New York and Connecticut; and, at his death, left the bulk of his property to the Society, which he gratefully recognised as her faithful almoner and servant [41].

Ill-treatment of most of the Indian tribes.

Returning to the history of the many other Indian tribes, which dwelt to the east and south of the Mohawk country, and once spread over the whole of the English provinces from Maine to Carolina, we find that the greater part had been already swept away by war, or sickness, or the indulgence of intoxicating drink. I have already traced the fatal operation of some of

[40] Hawkins, 159. 290. 293. 320. 327. See also Allen's Amer. Biog. Dict. *in loc.* The latter writer, though he ascribes to Johnson the credit of exercising over the Indians a greater influence than had been acquired by any other European, endeavours to cast reflections upon his moral character, for which I believe that there does not exist any sufficient evidence.

[41] Hawkins, 292, 293.

these causes in the history of the Pequod and of Philip's war, and in the touching conference of the Indians with William Penn, at Burlington. The continuance of the same evil influences proved so destructive, that not less than two-thirds of the whole number of the Indians are computed to have perished in the space of sixty-two years [42]. Grievous and humiliating as this truth is, it derives a yet heavier burden of reproach from the fact that they whom English Colonists treated with such inhuman cruelty were, many of them, men endued with vigorous intellect, devoted courage, heroic patience, and generous and tender feelings. 'This man is my friend,' said Silòuee, the Cherokee chief, to the warriors of his tribe, who, in revenge for the loss of some of their countrymen, had been sent to put to death an English officer under his protection, 'this man is my friend; before you get at him you must kill me.' 'I appeal,' said Logan, the Mingo chief, to Lord Dunmore, Governor of Virginia, 'I appeal to any white man to say, if ever he entered Logan's cabin hungry, and he gave him not meat; if ever he came cold and naked, and he clothed him not,'—words which must have made the ears who heard them tingle for very shame. For, at that moment, it is added in the same speech, if the question had been asked, 'Who is there to mourn for Logan?' the only answer must have been, 'Not one!' 'There was not' (said Logan), 'then running a drop of his blood in the veins of any living creature.' All his relations had been murdered in cold blood by the white man. Not even the women and children had been spared [43].

The generous nature of the Indians.

[42] Jefferson's Notes on the State of Virginia, 153.

[43] Ib. 99. 104—106. The reader needs hardly to be reminded

Evidences of their zeal and earnestness when partakers of the Christian's hope.

If the ferocious acts which have sometimes been ascribed to men thus cruelly oppressed had been really perpetrated, the example of their oppressors was not without its influence in producing them. Yet, in many instances, the charges were untrue; and the Indians against whom they were brought showed not only that they were guiltless of the barbarities imputed to them, but that, when brought under the humanising power of Christian truth, they were second to none in the readiness and sincerity with which they obeyed its dictates. Witness the case of Brant, whom Campbell has described as effecting by his direct command the destruction of 'fair Wyoming[44],' and who was afterwards admitted by the poet to have been guiltless of the massacre. Witness the zeal and love with which this Indian chief opened his own home in the wilderness, as an asylum for our Missionaries in the hour of their persecution; and the eagerness with which he strove to spread among the warriors of his tribe the knowledge of the hope which he had learnt from the ministers of Christ. Witness the con-

of the paraphrase of this speech of Logan, which our own poet, Campbell, has introduced into his exquisite poem of 'Gertrude of Wyoming.' If the statement be correct, which occurs in Campbell's History of Virginia' (p. 144, *note*), that Logan afterwards 'died a sot,' it only exhibits in more hideous colours the degradation to which even a noble nature may be reduced by continued ill-treatment.

[44] The inaccuracy of this description was fully proved by documents which John Brant, son of the former chief, brought with him to England, when he visited it in 1822; and Campbell retracted in consequence the charges which he had brought against him. See the article 'Brant,' in Allen's Amer. Biog. Dict., and the authorities there quoted.

tinuance of like acts in the person of his son, who not only rejoiced to clear his father's name from the stain of wanton bloodshed, but bent all the energies of his own strong intellect to the task of making known to his kindred Mohawks, and enabling them to read and hear in their own tongue, "the wonderful works of God." The translation of the Gospel of St. Mark and of the Book of Common Prayer into the Mohawk language was his work[45]. And herein he entered upon a path which another chief of the same race has since trodden with a diligence and success not inferior to his own[46]; testifying thereby the valuable nature of those qualities in the character of the North American Indian, which the grace of God vouchsafed to make instruments to promote the knowledge of His will, but which many, who professed to be his followers, had so fearfully abused.

The services of David Brainerd,

The services of every man, whether in communion with the Church of England or not, who helped to cast off the burden of this reproach, and make the neglected Indian partaker of his own hope in Christ, deserve to be gratefully recorded. All honour, therefore, to the name and memory of David Brainerd, whose labours in this cause have shed the brightest glory upon his early

[45] Allen's Dict., *ut sup.*

[46] I allude here to the translation of the Gospel of St. John into the Mohawk language, in 1804-5, by Norton, their well-known chief, whose Indian name was Teyoninhokarawen. This work has been by some American writers erroneously ascribed to Brant; but the circumstances of its translation by Norton are fully related in Owen's History of the British and Foreign Bible Society, i. 126—135. The Society published 2000 copies of the translated Gospel; and the thankful eagerness with which it was received by the Indians is noticed in the same History, i. 369.

grave[47]. Lodging on his 'little heap of straw,' amid the Indians of Kaunameek, with scanty and wretched food, his body already impregnated with the seeds of mortal sickness, but his mind strong and resolute, Brainerd gave himself wholly to the work to which he had been appointed by his Congregationalist brethren. At the close of the first year, an earnest invitation reached him from the friends whom he had left in the neighbourhood of his native place, praying him to return and become their pastor. But he swerved not from the path marked out for him. Leaving to the care of others the tribes of Kaunameek, whom he had been the first to instruct in the rudiments of the Christian faith, he went on to renew the same work among the Indians at the Forks of Delaware, and on the Susquehannah, and those who dwelt 80 miles to the south-east, at Crossweeksung, in New Jersey. Among the latter tribes, the evidences of his success were most remarkable. The same intense spirit of self-devotion never ceased to animate him. Sometimes, indeed, the thought of cheerful friends, and the 'desire of enjoying conveniences and opportunities for profitable studies,' were not unwelcome to him. But they were soon dissipated—let me here quote his own words[48],—

> Not by necessity, but of choice; for it appeared to me that God's dealings towards me had fitted me for a life of solitariness and hardship; and that I had nothing to lose by a total renunciation of it. It appeared to me just right, that I should be destitute of home, and many comforts of life, which I rejoiced to see others of God's people enjoy. And, at the same time, I saw so much of the excel-

[47] Brainerd was born April 20, 1718, and died Oct 9, 1747.

[48] Brainerd's Journal, May 22, 1746, quoted in his Life by Jonathan Edwards Works, ii. 367.

lency of Christ's kingdom, and the infinite desirableness of its advancement in the world, that it swallowed up all my other thoughts, and made me willing, yea, even rejoice, to be made a pilgrim or hermit in the wilderness, and to my dying moment, if I might thereby promote the blessed interest of the great Redeemer: and if ever my soul presented itself to God for his service, without any reserve of any kind, it did so now. The language of my thoughts and disposition now was, '*Here I am, Lord, send me*; send me *to the ends of the earth*; send me to the rough, the savage pagans of the wilderness; send me from all that is called comfort in earth, or earthly comfort; send me even to death itself, if it be but in Thy service, and to promote Thy Kingdom.'

The triumphs which such a man was enabled to achieve must ever be gratefully remembered. His own Journal relates, with a minuteness of detail and an absence of reserve which stamp it with the sure impress of truth, the difficulties against which he had to struggle, and the means by which he conquered. And the testimony borne to his ministry by others, who were enabled to put its reality to the severest test, places its substantial and enduring character beyond all dispute[49].

And of David Zeisberger, the Moravian.

The career of the sainted Brainerd was as brief as it was glorious. But there was another, who, beginning the like course of devoted labour among the Indian tribes, a short time before Brainerd's death, pursued it with unflinching constancy and zeal for 62 years. I refer to David Zeisberger, one of that holy band, the United Brethren, or Moravians. Zeisberger began his Missionary life in Georgia in 1738; and, for some years afterwards carried it on in the same regions which had been so successfully traversed by Brainerd.

[49] See the attestations of Tennent and others at the end of the second appendix to Brainerd's Journal, ib. 430.

He left to others the means of continuing it still further by his translation of the four Gospels into the Lenape, or language of the Delaware, and by other devotional works composed by him in the same language. His ministry also among the Onondago Indians was marked by like evidences of laborious zeal; and those who followed him in the same ministry derived most valuable assistance from the Grammar and Dictionary of the Onondago language which he had written [50].

The Yammasee Indians.

Of the Indians who dwelt in our southern Colonies, the Yammasees of Carolina were the most powerful and important body; and, in the first Report of the Society, Samuel Thomas is named as the Missionary appointed to work among them. But it is added, that his work was to be postponed in consequence of unfavourable circumstances at the time; a fact, indicating very strongly the dangers and difficulties which were even then apprehended from that quarter. The reasonableness of this apprehension was proved a few years afterwards too clearly by the event. Indeed, the safety and very existence of the Colony was soon placed in most imminent peril by the determined hostility of the Yammasees. They formed their plans with the utmost secrecy and caution; drew gradually into confederacy with themselves every Indian tribe from Florida to Cape Fear; and, at length, in 1715, burst like a torrent upon the settlements of the northern and southern frontiers of Carolina, swept away all before them, and carried terror and desolation to the neighbourhood of the capital itself. Craven,

[50] Heckewelder's Narrative, *in loc.*

Governor of the province, had only 1200 men who could bear arms. With this handful of troops, he succeeded, after several sharp conflicts, in driving back the invaders across the Savannah river, and finally beyond the borders of the province; forcing the Yammasees to find refuge within the Spanish territories in Florida. The Colony, although victorious in the struggle, was well-nigh crushed beneath this terrible outbreak of Indian vengeance. Her outlying Churches, houses, and plantations were all destroyed; the slaughtered bodies of men, women, and children were lying about in heaps; and the few panic-stricken survivors were stripped of every thing they possessed. Their sufferings, indeed, awakened the instant sympathy and help of England; and, in no instance were these more freely given than by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel for the relief of her destitute Missionaries in Carolina. But the effect of such bloody conflicts was of course to defer to an almost indefinite period the message of Christian truth among the Indians in that quarter of America [51].

Interest of the Church at home in the Missionary work among Indians and Negro slaves. Bp. Fleetwood's Sermon.

But, whatsoever the obstacles and discouragements to the work, the Church of England ceased not to recognise and confess the obligation which bound her to its performance. A signal proof of this fact is to be found in the Anniversary Sermon, preached before the Society in 1711, by Fleetwood, Bishop of St. Asaph; the especial purpose of which was to enforce the duty of making the heathen world partaker of the inheritance

[51] Holmes's American Annals, ii. 76, 77; Dalcho's History of the Church in Carolina, 97; Humphreys, 96—102; Hawkins, 55, 56.

of the Church of Christ. The Sermon is a masterly one, setting forth the grounds upon which Holy Scripture establishes this duty; and urging obedience to it by vigorous argument, and earnest, affectionate exhortation. A remarkable testimony to the effect produced by it on the heart of a careless and prejudiced Planter of North Carolina occurs in the letter of one of the Society's Missionaries, Giles Rainsford, who was stationed in 1712 upon the western shore of the River Chowan in that province. 'By much importunity,' he says, 'I prevailed on Mr. Martin to let me baptize three of his negroes. All the arguments I could make use of would scarce effect it, till Bishop Fleetwood's Sermon, preached before the Society, turned the scale[52].'

So great value, indeed, was attached to this Sermon, that, in the year in which it was preached, and again, in 1725, the Society printed large numbers of copies of it for distribution among the Plantations; and many striking evidences of the benefit of such an appeal were returned to the Mother-country, encouraging her faithful sons to persevere in the same righteous course.

Bishop Gibson's Letters in behalf of Negro slaves.

The Bishop of London might naturally be expected to have been foremost in the work of exciting his brethren, abroad and at home, to the duty of protecting, comforting, instructing, those in whose territories they had found a home, or by whose labour their profits were increased. Nor was this expectation disappointed. Bishop Gibson, who presided over the See of London from 1723 to 1748, might hesitate, indeed,

[52] Hawkins, p. 71.

as we have seen he did, to exercise certain powers, as Ordinary, in our Colonies, for which the law did not appear to him to supply a sufficient warrant[53]. But no such hesitation was manifested by him, whereso-ever, by his entreaties or precepts, he could hope to urge forward the work of Christian love in behalf of the Negro slave. He wrote two public letters upon this subject in 1727; the one, exhorting the masters and mistresses of families in our Plantations 'to encourage and promote the instruction of their negroes in the Christian faith,' and setting forth the obligations which bound them to 'that pious and necessary work:' the other, directing and urging the Missionaries who were among them to assist in the prosecution of the same duty in their several parishes. These letters were followed up by 'An Address to serious Christians among ourselves to assist the Society for Propagating the Gospel in carrying on this work.' They were all written in an earnest and affectionate spirit, and in language simple and persuasive[54]. The utmost pains were taken, both in the continent of North America and among our West Indian Islands, to give the widest circulation to them; and, as in the case of Fleetwood's Sermon, numerous and gratifying testimonies were received to prove that the appeal was not made in vain.

Dean Berkeley's scheme for evangelizing the natives of

One of the most remarkable instances of the extent to which love for the souls of others animated some of our most distinguished countrymen at home at this

[53] See p. 187, *ante*.

[54] The Address and Letters are given at length by Humphreys, pp. 250—275.

North America.

period, is supplied in the well-known scheme of Dean Berkeley for evangelizing the native tribes of North America, and in the history of his self-denying efforts to accomplish it. I must here content myself with merely noticing the fact, as contemporaneous with our present narrative, and reserve to a later chapter the details connected with it.

Bishop Wilson's 'Essay towards an Instruction for the Indians.'

Bishop Wilson was another of those masters of our Israel, who, watching at this time with a diligence and love that knew no weariness over his own Diocese, yet looked abroad with eager and compassionate interest upon the remotest regions of God's wide harvest-field, and addressed words of wise and affectionate and faithful counsel to the labourers who had been sent into them. Early in the year 1740, he published, in the form of dialogues between an Indian and a Missionary, his 'Essay towards an Instruction for the Indians.' The first nine dialogues are occupied in giving the instruction preparatory to Christian Baptism; and the remainder in explaining the nature of Baptism and the Supper of the Lord; the Creed; the Commandments of the Moral Law; and the Lord's Prayer. Each dialogue terminates with a short and earnest prayer, bearing upon its specific subject; and the whole is concluded with a summary of select passages of Holy Scripture, and prayers for the coming of Christ's kingdom; for the conversion of the heathen world; for faithful prosecution of the missionary's work; and for the blessing of those whom he instructs. The Essay is characterised throughout by the simple language, and lucid reasoning, and glowing piety, which mark the other writings of Bishop Wilson: and the fervour and unction of its

concluding prayers impart to it a value which is beyond all price. The germ of the work is to be found in a tract, entitled 'The Principles and Duties of Christianity,' which the Bishop published in 1699, the year after his consecration, for the use of the people of the Isle of Man; and which was the first book ever printed in the Manx language. His association with Bray in the work of establishing Parochial Libraries throughout his Diocese naturally turned Wilson's thoughts to the wants and duties of that portion of the Colonial Church, in which Bray soon afterwards occupied so important a post. His continued friendship with Archdeacon Hewetson[55], who, upon Bray's recommendation, was once nominated by the Bishop of London to the office of Commissary of Maryland[56], would tend yet further to increase his interest in what was passing abroad. And, under any circumstances, therefore, some such word of exhortation and instruction as that spoken in this work, might have been expected from him. But the immediate cause which led to the utterance of it in its present form was, as the Bishop states in his preface, the interest which Oglethorpe, the founder of the Colony of Georgia, had excited in his mind in a conversation with him respecting the Indians in that quarter of America.

[55] It is stated in Cruttwell's Life of Bp. Wilson, p. 4, that, when the latter first went to reside at Trinity College, Dublin, it was his intention to have studied physic; but that he was persuaded by Hewetson to devote himself to the work of the ministry. Hewetson speaks of him at his ordination by the Bishop of Kildare, as his 'dear friend, Tom Wilson,' and says that they both presented, upon that occasion, a silver paten to the Cathedral of that Diocese. Ib. 9.

[56] Vol. ii. 418.

Difficulties in the way of instructing the Negro slaves.

The notice which I have given above of Bishop Gibson's efforts on behalf of the Negro slaves in our Plantations, naturally connects itself with the work which, from the earliest date of its existence, the Society had sought to carry on for their benefit. Their instruction and conversion had always been set forth as one of the main objects towards which the labours of its Missionaries and Catechists were to be directed. The difficulties of prosecuting this duty were many and formidable. In many instances, Sunday was the only day upon which the Negro was allowed any rest from his master's service; and if, upon that day, he were disposed to receive instruction, the other duties of the minister made it more difficult for him to impart it. In other instances, Sunday, or the whole or the half of Saturday, was given up to the slave, that he might cultivate a plot of ground upon his own account, and save his master the cost of feeding and clothing him and his family. But, if every hour taken from his master's service were thus to be employed by the slave, little hope could be entertained that he would willingly devote them to any other purpose. Again, the wide distance from each other at which most of the masters lived, made it impracticable for the teacher to visit their slaves often, even if all parties were willing that he should do so. Last of all, came the careless and infidel plea of the Planter; a plea, echoed in that day too frequently by his countrymen at home, that the Negroes were nothing better than brute beasts, and that to bestow upon them the moral and intellectual culture suited to immortal beings was worse than useless [57].

[57] Humphreys, 232—235.

School at New York under Elias Neau.

The work, however, was begun and carried forward in spite of all discouragements. A School for Negro slaves was opened at New York in 1704, under the charge of the Society's Catechist, Elias Neau, a native of France. He had made in early life public profession of his faith as one of the Protestants of that country, and shared with his brethren the pains and penalties with which they were visited. After a long imprisonment and painful servitude in the galleys, he found an asylum in New York, and a livelihood from the trade which he was enabled to carry on in that city. His unaffected and earnest piety won for him the respect of all who witnessed the fruits of it in his daily walk; and his knowledge of the degraded condition of the Negro awakened in him the strongest desire to improve it. He was not animated by the eager impulse which ofttimes arises from inexperience, for his personal acquaintance with Eliot had led him to know the disappointments of that devoted man in the evening of his life, with respect to the Indians of New England; and his own estimate of their character, after 19 years' residence in America, was most unfavourable. There was nothing in the position of the slaves of New York, who, when Neau began his labours among them, are computed to have been 1500, which could give him any reason to hope that greater success would follow him than that which had attended Eliot. On the contrary, the difficulties of holding any intercourse at all with the slaves seemed well-nigh insurmountable. At first, he was only permitted to visit them from house to house, when the toil of the day was over; and, afterwards, when he obtained leave for

His character and conduct.

His difficulties.

them to gather together in the largest room which he could find on the upper floor of his house, they could still tarry with him only for such brief portions of the evening as their jaded energies would allow. Nevertheless, he worked on, in simple unquestioning reliance upon the promises of God's help. The prayers of the Church of England had long been his chief stay and solace, having learnt most of them by heart whilst confined in his dungeon in France. He began by giving to his Negro scholars the same help. Upon entering into the room, they all knelt down after his example, and repeated from his lips those prayers of our Liturgy of which he could most easily explain the meaning, and the words of which they could most easily retain in their memory. The task of teaching occupied about two hours; after which they sang a psalm, and then joined once more in prayer, including therein an especial petition for a blessing upon the work which the Church of England was carrying on in their behalf through her laborious and simple-hearted Catechist. The like instruction and devotional exercises were renewed by him, every Sunday, in a room which was fitted up as a study for the Rector on the lowest floor of the steeple of Trinity Church. The scholars were also publicly catechised by the Rector in Church on Sunday afternoons; and as many as he judged worthy to receive the Sacrament of Baptism received it at his hands. In 1708, four years after Neau had begun his labours, the ordinary number of Negro catechumens under instruction was more than 200. Of those who were baptized, many had become regular and devout communicants, and were remarkable for their orderly and blameless lives.

His success.

Negro conspiracy in 1712.

Before the lapse of four years more, heavy and unmerited reproach was cast upon the enterprise. Some Negroes of the Carmantee and Pappa tribes had formed a plot for setting fire to New York on a certain night, as soon as the moon was down, and murdering the English inhabitants. Not one of the conspirators divulged his secret, and the work of burning, confusion, and massacre was commenced just as they had wished and planned; but, after a short struggle, the English gained complete mastery over them. Instantly a loud and angry clamour broke out against Elias Neau. The instruction which he had given to the Negro, said his accusers, was the sole cause of the murderous attempt, and, in his School, had all the plans connected with it been cherished and matured. In vain he denied the charge. It was obstinately renewed; and so infuriated were the people against him that for some days he durst hardly venture abroad, through fear of personal violence. The evidence, indeed, brought forward at the trial of the conspirators clearly proved that only one of his scholars, and he an unbaptized man, had ever been associated with them; and that those Negroes were the most deeply engaged in the plot whose masters had been most distinguished for their opposition to every scheme proposed for their spiritual benefit. Nevertheless, jealousies and suspicions, as cruel as they were groundless, prevailed for a long time. The offence of a portion of the Negroes in New York, was charged upon the whole race; and Neau, their unwearied benefactor, was compelled to bear the burden of their reproach. The provincial government lent all the weight of its authority to

Unjust reproaches cast upon Neau.

make his burden heavier. The Common Council passed an order, forbidding the Negroes to appear in the streets after sunset, without lanthorns or candles; and, since none of them could procure lanthorns, or leave their work before sunset, the effect of such an order was to break up the relations which had so long subsisted between Neau and his scholars. It is hard to say what further acts of injustice might not have followed. But, at this crisis, Governor Hunter stepped forward, and, by his firm and judicious conduct, put to shame the fears of the alarmists, and enabled Neau to resume his pious labours. Hunter visited his School, attended by several officers of rank in the Colony, and by the Society's Missionaries; and, having seen there fresh proofs of the noble spirit which animated Neau, and connecting them with the acknowledged benefits which had now for eight years been conferred upon the Negro through the same untiring agency, he hesitated not to give his full approval to the work; and in a public proclamation, called upon the Clergy of the province to exhort their congregations from the pulpit to extend it in every quarter. Vesey, the Rector, needed not any such exhortation to stimulate him. He had long watched the labours of Neau, and, sharing them in his own person, had proved their benefit.

Governor Hunter's noble conduct.

In corroboration of this, came the further evidence of Governor Hunter, the Council, and chief officers of the city, all of whom declared—

Testimony to Neau's labours.

> That Mr. Neau had demeaned himself in all things as a good Christian and subject; that, in his station of Catechist, he had, to the great advancement of religion in general, and the particular benefit of the free Indians, Negro slaves, and other heathens in those

parts, with indefatigable zeal and application, performed that service three times a week; and that they did sincerely believe, that as a Catechist, he did, in a very eminent degree, deserve the countenance, favour, and protection of the Society.

His death.

Neau successfully discharged the like duties until 1722, when, amid the unaffected sorrow of his Negro scholars, and the friends who honoured him for their sake, he was removed by death[58]. But his work was not suffered to drop. Huddlestone, then Schoolmaster in New York, next undertook it; and to him succeeded the Rev. Mr. Wetmore, who, amid the increasing Negro population of the city, gathered increasing numbers of them into the fold of Christ. Upon the removal of the latter to Rye, in 1726, an earnest application was addressed to the Bishop of London and the Society, requesting them to send another minister who might instruct the Negroes and slaves, and assist the Rector, who was declining in years, in the general duties of his office. This request was immediately answered by the appointment of the Rev. Mr. Colgan, who received, a few years afterwards, valuable aid from Thomas Noxon, a Schoolmaster of exemplary piety; and cheering evidence is borne to the success of their joint labours. The like testimony waited upon the services of the Rev. R. Charlton, who, having begun the work of instruction of the Negroes at New Windsor, was called, in 1732, to continue it in the wider sphere of New York; and there, for fifteen years, persevered in carrying on effectually this important duty.

His successors in the work of instructing the Negroes.

[58] He was buried in the churchyard of Trinity Church, nearly in a line with its northern porch. Berrian's Hist. Sketch, &c., 36.

Upon his removal to Staten Island, the Rev. Samuel Auchmuty promptly supplied his place; and, upon the death of good Thomas Noxon, in 1741, a successor of kindred spirit and energy was found in Hildreth, who reports to the Society in 1764,—that 'not a single black admitted by him to the holy communion had turned out badly, or in any way disgraced his profession.' Both Auchmuty and Hildreth received hearty support from Barclay, who, upon the death of Vesey, in 1746, had been appointed to the Rectory of Trinity Church. The affectionate and watchful spirit which, we have lately seen, had characterised the ministry of Barclay among the Mohawks, and his experience of the Indian character, led him to look upon the training of the Negro slave as one of the most interesting and important duties of his new charge; and his friendly counsel and co-operation were at all times at the disposal of those who laboured for their benefit.

Evidences of a like spirit in favour of the Negroes of South Carolina.

In tracing thus the continuous labours, for more than half a century, of Missionaries and Catechists of the Church of England in behalf of the Negroes of New York, let not the manifestation of a like spirit in other parts of the British possessions, at this period, be forgotten: the diligent and earnest care, for instance, which Taylor and Varnod, Missionaries of the Society in South Carolina, bestowed upon slaves in the Plantations over which they had charge; and the assistance which they both gratefully confess to have received from the masters and mistresses of the slaves;—an assistance, in their case, rendered the more welcome by reason of the ill will and opposition which any attempt

to ameliorate their condition provoked among most of the British Planters of that day [59].

General summary.

These services are only to be regarded as samples of what was attempted or achieved by the Church Colonial, in many places, in that day, for the Indian and the Negro slave;—such, for instance, as have been noticed in describing the ministry of Chandler in New Jersey, and of Neill, Smith, Barton, and Sturgeon in Pennsylvania [60]. Others likewise have yet to be described in the next and some of the remaining chapters of this Volume. And even then the evidences will not have been exhausted. A sufficient proof of this may be found in the fact, stated in a Memorial from the Society to George II., in 1741, that some thousands of Indians and Negroes had then been instructed and baptized by the Missionaries.

Be it that some of the pious and benevolent works, connected with these efforts, produced not present fruit. It must not therefore be supposed that there was any defect of principle in their design, or of energy in their execution. The "bread cast upon the waters" might seem, indeed, in some instances, utterly lost; but, even where the prospect was most discouraging, it was found again, "after many days." And may we not infer, that, in many more instances,—although the records of the result have perished,—a healthful and saving nourishment was given by the same food to the souls that hungered after it? One memorable testimony at least is at hand, which warrants such an inference. I mean that of the late excellent Bishop

[59] Humphreys, 231–248; Hawkins, 263—273; Berrian's Hist. Sketch, &c., 34—91.

[60] See pp. 250. 264. 266. 272, *ante*.

Hobart, of New York, who, when he visited the Oneida Indians in 1818, saw, in the recesses of their forests, an aged Mohawk warrior, who, amid his heathen brethren, had held fast, for half a century, that holy faith in which he had been instructed by Missionaries of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. Hobart acknowledges with deepest gratitude the good work which the Church of England, long before the Revolutionary war, had begun and carried on through their agency. He publicly bears witness to this fact in his Address to the Convention; regards it as a fitting subject of congratulation to the Church, of which he was so distinguished a Pastor, that she should then be applying herself to resume the same work; and speaks, with especial hopefulness, of the assistance, which the religious instructor, whom he had appointed, two years before, to labour among the Oneidas (himself of Indian extraction), was about to receive from a young Onondaga chief, a candidate for the Christian ministry among his countrymen [61].

The conclusion, therefore, is inevitable; that, in spite of every hostile influence which operated upon the Church of England, from within and from without, abroad and at home, during the 17th and 18th centuries, she plainly confessed the obligation resting upon her, to communicate the light of Christian truth to the heathen of all lands in which England then planted her foreign settlements, and did what she could to discharge it.

If the question be asked, What has she done since, with all the manifold advantages imparted to her in the present century, for the heathen of the British

[61] McVicar's Life of Bp. Hobart, 479—481.

dominions and for those in other lands? let the answer be found in the increased and increasing number of her Colonial Dioceses in the East, in the West, and in the South; in the renewed efficiency of every instrument employed therein to the glory of God and the welfare of His people; and in the quickened zeal and energy which stir the hearts of so many of her faithful children in every quarter. Witness the work which has been done, and is still doing, by that one Society, to whose operations in the Colonies of North America our attention is necessarily confined at present; her extended exertions in former fields of labour, in Guiana and the West Indies, the Canadas, India, and Australia; the new and important Missions, established or aided by her, in Ceylon, South Africa, Borneo, Melanesia, Rupert's Land, and Labrador[62]. Witness also the unfailing sympathy and generous help which the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge has given, and continues to give, towards the same ends. Witness, once more, the labours of the Church Missionary Society, which have gathered in, from the beginning of the present century, many a rich and precious harvest from fields upon which she has scattered the "seed incorruptible," even "the Word of God;" and made the far-distant islands of savage cannibals the strongholds of truth and peace and holiness. Witness the yet growing interest, in behalf of these and other like enterprises of Christian love, which is felt and ex-

[62] It appears from the Report of the Society for 1854 (p. xxix.), that the East Indies and Ceylon received, in the preceding year, more than one-third of the Society's whole income; and that its total expenditure on Missions to the Heathen was not less than £23,000. For further particulars respecting these Missions, see the publications enumerated at the end of the Report.

pressed, on every side, within our sanctuary at home, and directs the prayers and strivings of our people to the same great and blessed issue, that God's "way may be known upon earth," His "saving health among all nations."

CHAPTER XXVIII.

THE EFFORTS OF DEAN BERKELEY IN BEHALF OF THE BRITISH COLONIES.

A.D. 1724—1752.

The early life of Berkeley.

George Berkeley, whose noble efforts in behalf of the British Colonies now claim our attention, was born March 12, 1684, at Kilcrin, near Thomastown, in the county of Kilkenny. He was first educated at a school at Kilkenny, and afterwards at Trinity College, Dublin, where he was admitted a pensioner at the age of fifteen; and, eight years later, gained the distinction of a fellowship. His admission into holy orders took place the same year[1]; but it does not appear that any opportunity was then afforded to him of entering upon the duties of a Parish. All that has come down to us, in connexion with his ministry at that time, is the fact, that, in 1712, he preached three Discourses in the College Chapel, on the doctrine of passive obedience; that the choice of such a subject brought upon him, as was

[1] Among the interesting MSS. of Berkeley, referred to p. 85, *note*, *ante*, I find a Sermon by him on 1 Tim. ii. 10, at the end of which is written, 'College Chappell, Sunday evening, January 11, 170$\frac{7}{8}$.'

likely, the charge of Jacobitism; and that the publication of his argument, in the form of one entire Discourse [2], became necessary to refute the charge. Meanwhile, his successful prosecution of mathematical and philosophical studies, to which Berkeley had devoted himself, at an early stage of his academic course, opened for him an admission into the society of many celebrated men, who were at that time the delight and ornament of the English metropolis. The startling character of some of his theories, the acuteness and ingenuity of his arguments, the extent of his learning, the fertile powers of his imagination, and the incomparable graces of his style, first turned their attention towards him; and the charms of his manners and conversation, when he became personally known to them, won for him their friendship. On Berkeley's first visit to England, early in 1713, he became the literary associate and intimate companion of Addison, Steele [3], Swift, Arbuthnot, and Pope; and the magic influence with which he swayed the minds of men who had so large a share in forming the taste and opinions of others, in that day, is proved by the willing and ample tribute of admiration which they never ceased to pay to him. The well-known words of Pope, recorded many years later, which ascribe

His personal influence.

To Berkeley every virtue under heaven [4],

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[2] Berkeley's Works, ii. 251—292.

[3] Several of the Papers in the Guardian, which first appeared under the direction of Steele, March 12, 1713, were written by Berkeley.

[4] Epilogue to his Satires, 1738. It is well said by the late Professor Archer Butler, in an admirable paper on Berkeley in the Dublin University Magazine, vii. 448, that this 'lofty eulogium of

show, in the very fervour of their praise, the readiness with which the satirist could lay aside his lash, and enshrine in immortal verse the graces of a character he loved. And not less striking is the testimony borne to him by Atterbury, who, after an interview with Berkeley, declared, 'So much understanding, so much knowledge, so much innocence, and such humility, I did not think had been the portion of any but angels, till I saw this gentleman[5].' With Swift, probably, Berkeley had already made some acquaintance, before the former quitted Ireland to mingle in those humiliating scenes of political jealousy and quarrel which he has delineated in his Journals and Letters. But, whatsoever may have been his inducement to assist Berkeley,—whether the remembrance of former friendship, or the enthusiastic admiration of his character that was kindled in him, by the acquaintance then formed,—there can be no doubt that Swift exerted himself eagerly to promote his interest. A letter of Swift to Carteret some years afterwards shows that he obtained for Berkeley the appointment of Chaplain and Secretary to the Earl of Peterborough, who went as ambassador to Sicily, in 1713. And an entry appears in Swift's Journal to Stella, April 12, 1713, with reference to this appointment, which describes his own motive in effecting it: 'This, I think, I am bound to do, in honour and conscience, to use all my little credit towards helping forward men of worth in the world[6].'

the great poet condenses in a single line a character too perfect for humanity.'

[5] Mackintosh's Dissertation on Ethical Philosophy. Encyc. Brit. i. 350.

[6] Many like instances of Swift's active generosity are related in his Life by Scott, pp. 155—158.

Oglethorpe was an officer in Peterborough's suite upon this occasion; and to the influence of the acquaintance then formed between him and Berkeley may be traced, I think, the formation of many of those generous and benevolent schemes which so eminently distinguished Oglethorpe in later years. Berkeley returned to England with Peterborough, in 1714[7]; and having been induced to go abroad a second time, travelled through Europe as the companion of a son of Bishop Ashe. He was absent upon that tour nearly five years; and, soon afterwards, having been commended to the notice of the Duke of Grafton, returned with that nobleman to Ireland, when he went there as Viceroy, in 1721.

Appointed Dean of Derry.

In 1724, when Berkeley had entered upon his forty-first year, he was appointed Dean of Derry. And they who measured the value of ecclesiastical dignities in that day,—as some are disposed to measure them in every day,—only by the amount of present temporal advantage, or the prospect of future advancement, which they appear to carry with them, were, of course, wholly unprepared for the announcement of any design on the part of Berkeley which renounced objects so commonly sought after.

His plan for extending Christianity to our Plantations, and to the Heathen.

But, just at this period, when he was in the prime of his matured manhood and judgment, and the most encouraging tokens of temporal prosperity waited upon him in his native country, he published 'A Proposal,' which he had been some years cherishing in

[7] Whilst Berkeley was abroad, upon this occasion, he visited Leghorn, and became acquainted with Basil Kennett. See p. 85, *note, ante.*

his mind, 'for the better supplying of Churches in our foreign Plantations, and for converting the savages to Christianity[8].' He avowed, at the same time, his own determination, and that of others, to relinquish all that they had at home, and go forth and do what they could to realise the scheme. The necessity for making some such effort was demonstrated by the evils then existing in the English Colonies. And having pointed out, in the beginning of his pamphlet, some of the most prominent of these, he proposed as a remedy the erection of a College for training American Missionaries in the Bermudas.

It is worthy of remark that Berkeley was led to form and publish this design from a conviction of the grievous difficulties which the absence of a Bishop had entailed upon our Colonial Churches. He acknowledges, indeed, the vigilance and wisdom of Bishop Gibson, who had charge of them. But the wide distance at which they were placed made it impossible, in Berkeley's judgment, that any effectual supervision could be maintained. He looked forward to the time when such difficulties should be removed, by the appointment of a Bishop over each division of the Colonial Churches; and speaks of the American Missionaries, to be trained in his proposed College, as receiving 'holy orders in England (till such time as Episcopacy be established in those parts).' It is no ordinary testimony to the justice of those principles, which have been so frequently asserted with reference to this subject, to find their authority thus insisted upon by Berkeley in the outset of his plan.

A similar institution to that which he was now

[8] Berkeley's Works, iii. 213—230.

commending to public attention had been already projected by the zeal and piety of General Codrington in Barbados; but circumstances which will be hereafter noticed had kept it hitherto in abeyance. Berkeley refers to this project for the purpose of showing, that, neither Barbados, nor any other of the West India Islands, nor even the continent of North America, presented so hopeful a field for the design as that supplied by the Bermudas. The position of those Islands in the midst of the Atlantic, affording convenient means of intercourse between England and all her Western Colonies, the healthy temperature of their climate, the natural and artificial strength of their defences, the simplicity and kindly feeling of their inhabitants, all conspired, in his judgment, to favour the scheme.

'I am informed,' he says, 'that they are more constant attendants on Divine Service, more kind and respectful to their pastor (when they have one), and show much more humanity to their slaves, and charity to one another, than is observed among the English in the other plantations; one reason of this may be, that condemned criminals, being employed in the manufacture of sugar and tobacco, were never transported thither.'

The above passage deserves notice, as confirming my description of the Bermudas, in former parts of this work, and showing the opinion of Berkeley with respect to the evil of converting our Colonies into penal settlements.

The living machinery by which Berkeley proposed to work his institution was of course that part of it to which he directed his chief attention; and he thus describes the qualities to be required of the men who should take part in it:

'Men of prudence, spirit, and zeal, as well as competent learning, who should be led to it by other motives than the necessity of

picking up a maintenance. For, upon this view, what man of merit can be supposed to quit his native country, and take up with a poor college subsistence in another part of the world, where there are so many parishes actually void, and so many others ill supplied for want of fitting incumbents? Is it likely, that fellowships of fifty or sixty pounds a year should tempt abler or worthier men, than benefices of many times their value? And except able and worthy men do first engage in this affair, with a resolution to exert themselves in forming the manners of youth, and giving them a proper education, it is evident the mission and the college will be but in a very bad way.'

Berkeley then describes, in terms of unaffected modesty, the feelings which animated himself and his associates in the undertaking. He says that they were—

'In all respects very well qualified, and in possession of good preferments, and fair prospects at home, who, having seriously considered the great benefits that may arise to the Church, and to mankind, from such an undertaking, are ready to engage in it, and to dedicate the remainder of their lives to the instructing the youth of America, and prosecuting their own studies upon a very moderate subsistence in a retirement so sweet and so secure, and every way so well fitted for a place of education and study, as Bermuda. For himself, he can only say, that as he values no preferment upon earth so much as that of being employed in the execution of his design, so he hopes to make up for other defects by the sincerity of his endeavours.'

After touching upon the efforts which had been made by Spanish and French Missionaries of the Church of Rome in South and North America, and upon the opportunity which the realisation of his scheme would give to the Church of England to discharge her duty in the same regions, Berkeley proceeds to notice objections which might probably be urged against his proposal. They were substantially the same with many which continue to pass current in the

present day; and the terms, therefore, in which he disposes of them may well claim our attention.

'Perhaps it will be said, in opposition to this proposal, that if we thought ourselves capable of gaining converts to the Church we ought to begin with infidels, papists, and dissenters of all denominations at home, and to make proselytes of these before we think of foreigners; and that therefore our scheme is against duty. And farther, that considering the great opposition, which is found on the part of those who differ from us at home, no success can be expected among savages abroad, and that therefore it is against reason and experience.

'In answer to this I say, that religion like light is imparted without being diminished. That whatever is done abroad can be no hinderance or let to the conversion of infidels or others at home. That those who engage in this affair imagine they will not be missed, where there is no want of schools or clergy; but that they may be of singular service in countries but thinly supplied with either, or altogether deprived of both: that our Colonies being of the same blood, language, and religion with ourselves, are in effect our countrymen. But that Christian charity, not being limited by those regards, doth extend to all mankind. And this may serve for an answer to the first point, that our design is against duty.

'To the second point I answer, that ignorance is not so incurable as error; that you must pull down as well as build, erase as well as imprint, in order to make proselytes at home, whereas, the savage Americans, if they are in a state purely natural, and unimproved by education, they are also unincumbered with all that rubbish of superstition and prejudice which is the effect of a wrong one. As they are less instructed, they are withal less conceited, and more teachable. And not being violently attached to any false system of their own, are so much the fitter to receive that which is true. Hence it is evident that success abroad ought not to be measured by that which we observe at home, and that the inference which was made from the difficulty of the one to the impossibility of the other is altogether groundless.'

Another argument was drawn by Berkeley from the Charter which James I. had granted to the first Virginia Company, which declared that the desire to pro-

pagate the Gospel, and to extend the arts of civilised life among the natives of that and the adjoining provinces had been the principal motives of inducement to the English Crown to plant settlements in the West. We have seen the many efforts that were made, at home and abroad, at the time this Charter was issued, to give effect to its declarations. And, as the same, or similar, declarations had been repeated in every subsequent Charter, it seemed impossible that the Sovereign or the people of England could escape from the obligation to which they had bound themselves; the one, in giving, and the other, in receiving privileges to which such sacred duties were annexed.

His verses on the same subject.

It was not only in the 'Proposal,' of which I have here given an outline, that the ardent feelings of Berkeley found a channel for their expression. His verses, 'On the prospect of planting Arts and Learning in America,' manifest, in terms of no ordinary power, the devotion of his whole soul to that work, and the richness and beauty of the visions which rose up before him in the contemplation of it. Their composition has been by some persons assigned to a later date[9]; but, at whatsoever period written, they may well be inserted in this place, as setting forth a train of thought in harmony with his present noble enterprise.

> The Muse, disgusted at an age and clime,
> Barren of every glorious theme,
> In distant lands now waits a better time,
> Producing subjects worthy fame:

[9] In the Rhode Island Histor. Col. iii. 36, it is said that they were written at Newport.

In happy climes, where from the genial sun
And virgin earth such scenes ensue,
The force of art by nature seems outdone,
And fancied beauties by the true:

In happy climes the seat of innocence,
Where nature guides and virtue rules,
Where men shall not impose for truth and sense,
The pedantry of courts and schools:

There shall be sung another golden age,
The rise of empire and of arts,
The good and great inspiring epic rage,
The wisest heads and noblest hearts.

Not such as Europe breeds in her decay;
Such as she bred when fresh and young,
When heavenly flame did animate her clay,
By future poets shall be sung.

Westward the course of empire takes its way [10];
The four first acts already past,
A fifth shall close the drama with the day;
Time's noblest offspring is the last.

Estimate of his project by others.

Whilst Berkeley thus pondered upon the work before him, and strove by careful arguments and noble sacrifices of temporal ease and fortune to promote it, and to kindle a like spirit of devotion in the hearts of others, he was looked upon by most of his acquaintance only as a brain-sick visionary. The best description perhaps of the estimate which they formed of his project occurs in the letter already referred to from Swift to Lord Carteret. It bears date Sept. 3, 1724, and was written for the

[10] The reader will trace a resemblance between this thought and that of George Herbert (see Vol. i. 295). Cotton Mather has copied the same, without acknowledgment, in the opening of the introduction to his Magnalia.

purpose of introducing Berkeley to that nobleman, who had been appointed to succeed the Duke of Grafton in the Viceroyalty of Ireland. After mentioning some of the incidents already noticed in Berkeley's previous life, Swift thus proceeds:

'I am now to mention his errand. He is an absolute philosopher; and for three years past hath been struck with a notion of founding a university at Bermuda, by a charter from the crown. He hath seduced several of the hopefullest young clergymen and others here, many of them well provided for, and all of them in the fairest way of preferment: but in England his conquests are greater, and I doubt not will spread very far this winter. He shewed me a little tract which he designs to publish, and there your excellency will see his whole scheme of a life academico-philosophical (I shall make you remember what you were) of a college founded for Indian scholars and missionaries, where he most exorbitantly proposeth a whole hundred pounds a year for himself, forty pounds for a fellow, and ten for a student. His heart will break if his deanery be not taken from him, and left to your excellency's disposal. I discourage him by the coldness of courts and ministers, who will interpret all this as impossible and a vision; but nothing will do. And therefore I do humbly entreat your excellency, either to use such persuasions as will keep one of the first men in this kingdom for learning and virtue quiet at home, or assist him by your credit to compass his romantic design, which however is very noble and generous, and directly proper for a great person of your excellent education to encourage [11].'

Bolingbroke also has left on record, in a letter to Swift, a description of the feelings which were awakened in his mind by Berkeley and his scheme:

'I would not by any means (he says) lose the opportunity of knowing a man who can espouse in good earnest the opinion of Malebranche, and who is fond of going a missionary into the West

[11] Stock's Life of Berkeley, prefixed to his Works, i. vii., *note*. I may here add that my other notices of Berkeley's Life, Correspondence, &c., where they are not otherwise specified, are derived from the same source, and from the Biog. Brit.

Indies. My zeal for the propagation of the Gospel will not carry me so far; but my spleen against Europe has more than once made me think of buying the dominion of Bermudas, and spending the remainder of my days as far as possible from the people with whom I have passed the first and the greatest part of my life [12].'

How striking is the contrast here presented between the impressions made by the same outward object upon the minds of men who contemplate it from opposite points of sight! The one covets it as a field upon which he may reap and gather in a bitter harvest of hate and scorn, which sprang up from the seed of unbelief. The other, that he may find therein the means of exercising the purest sympathies with which the love of God can animate man's heart.

His determination to prosecute it.

The Clergy whom Swift describes as 'well provided for, and in the fairest way of preferment,' whom Berkeley had persuaded to leave these bright prospects, and be content with a fellowship of £40 a year in his projected College, were three junior Fellows of Trinity College, Dublin, William Thompson, Jonathan Rogers, and Thomas King. But upon Berkeley lay the entire burden of providing the means necessary for the work which engaged their thoughts and his.

Other unexpected cares at the same time harassed Berkeley, arising out of the settlement of the affairs of Miss Vanhomrigh, the celebrated Vanessa. As soon as she had discovered the marriage of Swift with Mrs. Johnson (Stella), she revoked her Will in favour of Swift, and left her property between her executors, Mr. Marshall, subsequently one of the Judges of the Court of Common Pleas in Ireland, and Berkeley. The discharge of this trust proved a very tedious and

[12] Quoted by the late Archer Butler. See p. 338, *note*, *ante*.

troublesome office. Among the many letters written from London, between the years 1724 and 1728, upon this and other subjects, to his friend Thomas Prior of Dublin, Berkeley describes himself as being

'At an end of his patience, and almost of his wits.' 'You have no notion,' he adds, 'of the misery I have undergone, and do daily undergo on that account. For God's sake disentangle these matters, that I may once be at ease to mind my other affairs of the college, which are enough to employ ten persons.'

The last sentence here quoted shows the eagerness of Berkeley to get rid of every interest which might act as a barrier between him and the one great and noble object to which he had devoted himself, and the ardour with which he pressed forward to its attainment. He met with many difficulties and discouragements; but nothing could turn him aside from his purpose; and his brave and cheerful spirit gathered strength where other men would have utterly despaired. Thus, in another letter, Jan. 12, 1726, we find him saying,

'I thank God I find, in matters of a more difficult nature, the good effects of activity and resolution. I mean Bermuda, with which my hands are full, and which is in a fair way to flourish in spite of all opposition.'

Such was his single-hearted zeal and resolution that he compelled even the friends who treated his design as a chimera to waver sometimes in their opinions, and share the impulses of his own noble spirit. 'The members of the Scriblerus Club,' says the first Lord Bathurst, 'being met at his house at dinner, agreed to rally Berkeley, who was also his guest, on his scheme. Berkeley, having listened to the many lively things they had to say, begged to be heard in his turn, and displayed his plan with such an astonishing and ani-

mating force of eloquence and enthusiasm, that they were struck dumb, and after some pause, rose all up together, with earnestness exclaiming, Let us set out with him immediately[13].' The interest thus created among the friends of Berkeley did not cease with the excitement which had awakened it. Some of them helped him with contributions which, compared with the value of money in that day, may well put to shame the amount of offerings by which so many of our countrymen are now content to limit the measure of their help to similar undertakings. A list given below, incomplete as it is, exhibits a sum exceeding £5000, subscribed in aid of his project[14]; and this would probably have reached a far higher amount, had not a promise received through

Encouraged by the help of friends,

[13] Quoted from Warton on Pope, by Mackintosh, *ut sup.*

[14] The list is in Berkeley's handwriting, among the MSS. mentioned, p. 85, *ante.*

Subscriptions for Bermuda.

	£		£
Dean of York and his Brother	300	John Wolfe, Esq.	100
Earl of Oxford	200	Edward Harley, Esq.	100
Dr. Strafford	100	Benjamin Hoare, Esq.	100
Sir Matthew Decker	100	Lady Betty Hastings	500
Lady, who desires to be unknown	500	Sir Robert Walpole	200
Lord Bateman	100	Duke of Chandos	200
—— Archer, Esq., of Soho-square	500	Thomas Stanhope, Esq.	100
Dr. Rundle	100	Mrs. Drelincourt	100
Dr. Grandorge	100	Dr. Pelling	100
Lord Pembroke	300	Another Clergyman (*added in another hand*, Bp. Berkeley)	100
Lord Peterborough	105	Mrs. Road	100
Lord Arran	300	Lady, who desires to be unknown	100
Lord Percivall	200	Gentleman, who desires to be unknown	160
Archibald Hutcheson, Esq.	200		

Sir Robert Walpole, whose name appears among the subscribers, led both Berkeley and others to believe that large assistance would have been furnished by the Crown.

And by the promise of the government.

The promise upon which they rested was that of the King, his Minister, and Parliament. The King had been led to take an interest in the enterprise through the medium of Altieri, a Venetian Abbé, with whom Berkeley, in the course of his travels, had become acquainted, and who was afterwards admitted into the circle of literary foreigners at the English Court. Walpole had become a party to it by securing a Royal Charter for the proposed College, and proposing to the House of Commons that certain lands, in St. Kitt's, which by the treaty of Utrecht in 1713, had been ceded by the French to the British Crown, should be purchased and applied to the object described in the Charter. The House accepted the proposal; and having, on the 11th of May, 1726, voted an Address to the Crown in accordance with it, gave to the measure its full and deliberate sanction.

Berkeley thus writes the next day to Prior:

'After six weeks' struggle against an earnest opposition, from different interests and motives, I have yesterday carried my point just as I desired, in the House of Commons, by an extraordinary majority; none having the confidence to speak against it, and not above two giving their negatives, which was done in so low a voice as if they themselves were ashamed of it. They were both considerable men in stocks in trade, and in the city; and, in truth, I have had more opposition from that sort of men, and from the governors and traders to America, than from any others. But, God be praised, there is an end of all their narrow and mercantile views and endeavours, as well as of the jealousies and suspicions of others (some whereof were very great men) who apprehended this college

may produce an independency in America, or at least, lessen its dependency upon England.'

Charter for St. Paul's College, Bermuda.

The Charter authorised the erection of a College in the Bermudas, to be called the College of St. Paul, and to be governed by a President and nine Fellows, who were constituted a body corporate, with all the usual privileges. Berkeley was named therein as the first President, and the three Fellows of Trinity College already mentioned, the first Fellows; and permission was expressly granted to them to retain their preferments at home until the expiration of a year and a half after their arrival in the Islands. Six more Fellows were to be elected by them within two years. The surviving members of the body thus constituted had power to elect to all future vacancies; and, if any were not filled up within a year, the Bishop of London for the time being, who was also Visitor of the College, was empowered to nominate a successor. The purpose of the College was declared to be the instruction of scholars in theology and literature, towards the propagation of the Christian faith and civilisation, not only in parts of America subject to the English dominions, but among the heathen. The charge for such education (including the cost of clothes, board, and lodging) was limited to £10 a year for each scholar. The power of granting degrees was conferred upon the College; and the Secretary of State for the Colonies was appointed its Chancellor.

The trouble of obtaining it.

In obtaining this Charter, Berkeley had to endure many cares and disappointments. A year before the House of Commons voted the Address in his favour, he writes to Prior:

'I have obtained reports from the Bishop of London, the Board

of Trade and Plantations, and the Attorney and Solicitor General, in favour of the Bermuda scheme, and hope to have the warrant signed by His Majesty this week.'

A few days afterwards, he informed him that the Charter had passed the Privy Seal, and that the new Chancellor (King) had begun 'his office by putting the recipe to it.' At the interval of nine days more, he reports that the Charter had been duly sealed, and was then in his custody; and adds,

'It hath cost me one hundred and thirty pounds dry fees, beside expedition-money to men in office.'

A few months later, he writes to the same friend very hopefully of his ultimate success, but states that the King's absence abroad, the late meeting of Parliament, and the critical posture of public affairs, had delayed the settlement which he had been anxious to make respecting the lands in St. Kitt's. He does not, however, give way to any murmuring or complaint on that account, but urges it upon Prior as a reason why he should leave the arrangement of his own private affairs to him.

'I have now my hands full of that business, and hope to see it soon settled to my wish. In the mean time, my attendance on this business renders it impossible for me to mind my private affairs. Your assistance, therefore, in them, will not only be a kind service to me, but also to the public weal of our college, which would very much suffer if I were obliged to leave this kingdom before I saw an endowment settled on it. For this reason I must depend upon you.'

At length, the business was brought to that stage which has already been described; and the King's answer, complying with the address of the Commons, having been returned, Berkeley's attention was chiefly occupied, during the summer of 1726, in finding good

men to fill the Fellowships in his proposed College, and for which there appeared 'many competitors more than vacancies.'

But his difficulties were not yet over. He writes, Dec. 1, 1726, saying,

'Much opposition hath been since raised (and that by very great men) to the design. As for the obstacles thrown in my way by interested men, though there hath been much of that, I never regarded it, no more than the clamours and calumnies of ignorant mistaken people: but, in good truth, it was with much difficulty, and the peculiar blessing of God, that the point was carried maugre the strong opposition in the Cabinet Council; wherein nevertheless it hath of late been determined to go on with the grant pursuant to the Address of the House of Commons, and to give it all possible dispatch. Accordingly, His Majesty hath ordered the warrant for passing the said grant to be drawn. The persons appointed to contrive the draught of the warrant are the Solicitor-General, Baron Scroop of the Treasury, and my good friend Mr. Hutcheson. You must know that, in July last, the Lords of the Treasury had named Commissioners for taking an estimate of the value and quantity of the crown lands in St. Christopher's, and for receiving proposals either for selling or farming the same for the benefit of the public. Their report is not yet made; and the Treasury were of opinion that they could not make a grant to us till such time as the whole were sold or farmed pursuant to such report. But the point I am now labouring at is to have it done without delay. And how this may be done without embarrassing the Treasury in their after disposal of the whole lands, was this day the subject of a conference between the Solicitor-General, Mr. Hutcheson, and myself. The method agreed on is, by a rent-charge on the whole crown-lands, redeemable on the crown's paying twenty thousand pounds for the use of the President and Fellows of St. Paul's, and their successors. Sir Robert Walpole hath signified that he hath no objection to this method; and I doubt not Baron Scroop will agree to it: by which means the grant may be passed before the meeting of Parliament; after which we may prepare to set out on our voyage before April.'

April in the next year arrived, and found Berkeley

still in England, and forced to go through all his work again in consequence of the death of George I. Tidings of that event reached London, June 14, 1727; and, writing the next day to Prior, Berkeley says,

'This day, King George II. was proclaimed. All the world here are in a hurry, and I as much as any body, our grant being defeated by the King's dying before the broad seal was annexed to it, in order to which it was passing through the offices. I have *la mer à boire* again. You shall hear from me when I know more. At present I am at a loss what course to take.'

In a few days he is enabled to send intelligence, that the new warrant had been signed by the King, countersigned by the Lords of the Treasury, and passed the Attorney-General, 'contrary to the expectation of' his 'friends, who thought nothing could be expected of that kind in this great hurry of business.'

Sails for Rhode Island.

At length the Broad Seal was put to the warrant for his grant. The money which he had given directions to be raised out of his private resources, in furtherance of it, was provided; and, before the expiration of the following summer, Berkeley had made every arrangement for his departure. He married, August 1, the eldest daughter of Foster, Speaker of the Irish House of Commons; and, on the 6th of September, they sailed from Gravesend, accompanied by a daughter of Lady Hancock, who was a friend of his wife, and three friends of his own, Mr. James and Mr. Dalton, gentlemen of independent fortune, and Mr. Smilert, whom Berkeley describes elsewhere as 'a very honest, skilful person, in his profession' of a painter. Rhode Island was fixed upon as their first place of abode, being thought a convenient spot from which intercourse could be kept up with the Bermudas, and in which, as well as in the

adjoining continent, lands might be purchased to yield endowment and provisions for the future College [15].

His proceedings there.

At one time, indeed, after his arrival at Newport, Berkeley thought that Rhode Island possessed so many more advantages than the Bermudas, that he entertained the thought of transferring the College thither. But, fearing lest this change might throw some difficulty in the way of receiving the promised grant, and for other reasons, he judged it best to adhere to the original design [16]. Ac-

[15] It is said in Updike's History of the Church in Naragansett, p. 395 (Memoirs of Trinity Church, Newport), that, according to a tradition still preserved in Rhode Island, Berkeley's arrival there was 'purely accidental;' that 'the captain of the ship in which he sailed could not find the island of Bermuda, and that having given up the search after it, he steered northward until they discovered land unknown to them, and which they supposed to be inhabited only by savages.' This land, they were informed by two pilots who came on board, was near Newport; and, Berkeley having sent by the pilots a letter to Honyman, the minister of the Church in that town, the same was read by him from his pulpit to the congregation, who happened to be then engaged in divine worship on one of the festivals. It is reported, further, that Honyman, having dismissed the congregation with the blessing, repaired immediately, with the wardens, and vestry, and rest of the people, to the ferry wharf, and gave a hospitable welcome to Berkeley and his friends. The pilots had described Berkeley as 'a great dignitary of the Church of England, called "Dean."'

The only part of this story I regard as true, is that which speaks of the kind reception of Berkeley by the inhabitants of Newport. The rest is directly at variance with Berkeley's own Journal, Sept. 5, 1728, in which he says, 'To-morrow, I sail for Rhode Island,' &c.

[16] It is said by Chandler, in his Life of Johnson, p. 52, that Berkeley 'wrote to his friends in England, requesting them to get the patent altered for some place on the American continent.' But this is manifestly an error. The statement which I have given

cordingly, he lost no time in purchasing, at his own cost, land in Rhode Island, and building upon it a farm-house, in which he lived, intending that it should assist in supplying hereafter what was needed for his College. He proceeded also to negotiate the purchase of other lands upon the adjacent continent, hoping, as soon as they were paid for out of the promised grant, to sail with his family to the Bermudas, and complete his long cherished plan. Never was any plan conceived in a firmer, or loftier, or wiser spirit. It was, indeed, to use the words of Mackintosh, 'a work of heroic, or rather, godlike benevolence.' The means also of accomplishing it were based upon a security which it was impossible that any man could question. In what promise, it might be asked, could any man ever trust, if Berkeley were deceived in that which had been so solemnly confirmed to him? And yet the event proved that he was deceived. Our hearts are ready to burst with indignation, and our ears tingle for very shame, as we record the fact. He was slow—and what generous spirit would not be slow?—to believe that so flagrant an act could ever be committed; and therefore worked on patiently for nearly two years, forming and maturing his designs for the erection of the College. Whatsoever misgivings he may have felt with respect to the cause of the delay, he would not suffer them to find vent, lest he might cast undeserved reproach upon the national honour. He still retained a resolute and cheerful spirit. And, when at length he was constrained to communicate to his friend Prior the painful

His hopes deferred.

above is taken from Berkeley's Letters to Prior. Works, i. pp. 38. 40.

reports which had reached him, he did so in language which eminently exhibits the gentleness and composure of his pure spirit. His letter bears date May 7, 1730; and he says,

'I want only the payment of the King's grant to transport myself and my family thither [to Bermuda]. I am now employing the interest of my friends in England for that purpose, and I have wrote in the most pressing manner either to get the money paid, or at least such an authentic answer as I may count upon, and may direct me what course I am to take. Dr. Clayton, indeed, hath wrote me word, that he hath been informed by a very good friend of mine, who had it from a very great man, that it would not be paid. But I cannot think a hearsay at second or third hand to be a proper answer for me to act upon. I have, therefore, suggested to the Doctor, that it might be proper for him to go himself to the Treasury with the Letters Patent containing the grant in his hands, and there make his demand in form. I have also wrote to others to use their interest at court; though indeed one would have thought all solicitation at an end when once I had obtained a grant under His Majesty's hand and the broad seal of England. As to my own going to London and soliciting in person, I think it reasonable, first, to see what my friends can do; and the rather because I shall have small hopes that my solicitation will be more regarded than theirs.'

He writes again on the 20th of July, and says,

'I have not had one line from the persons to whom I had wrote to make the last instances for the £20,000. This I impute to an accident that we hear happened to a man-of-war, as it was coming down the river for Boston, where it was expected some months ago, and is now daily looked for with the new governor.'

This wearisome looking after help which, it appeared more and more likely, might never come, was not the only trial which Berkeley had to bear. A report had begun to spread in Ireland that he meant, —whatsoever might be the issue of his project,— to remain in America, and retain the income of his Deanery.

'I must desire you,' he writes, 'to discountenance such a report. —Be assured, I long to know the upshot of this matter; and, that upon an explicit refusal, I am determined to return home; and that it is not at all in my thoughts to continue abroad and hold my Deanery. It is well known to many considerable persons in England, that I might have had a dispensation for holding it in my absence during life, and that I was much pressed to it, but I resolutely declined it; and if our college had taken place as soon as I once hoped it would, I should have resigned before this time. I do assure you *bonâ fide* that I have no intention to stay here longer than I can get an authentic answer from the government, which I have all the reason in the world to expect this summer; for, upon all private accounts, I should like Derry better than New England. As I am here in order to execute a design addressed for by Parliament, and set on foot by His Majesty's royal charter, I think myself obliged to wait the event, whatever course is taken in Ireland about my Deanery.'

The conduct of Berkeley, therefore, under these harassing delays, was as consistent and just as his motives were pure.

Condition of Rhode Island.

But Berkeley has other claims upon our gratitude for the course he pursued whilst in Rhode Island. Although chiefly occupied with making the preparations for his future enterprise, he lost no opportunity of present usefulness; but laboured, every where and at all times, to forward, as he best could, the service of his heavenly Master. The condition of Rhode Island was such as to present no ordinary difficulties in the way of his success. A century was now just about to close, since Roger Williams and his five companions had first landed, from their small Indian canoe, in Naragansett Bay, and had given the name of Providence to that spot, in token of the overruling providence of God, which had saved him out of all the perils of the persecution pro-

voked by him at Salem [17]. The territory purchased by Williams from the Naragansett Indians on the continent and in the islands of the bay, had soon become peopled with the many English emigrants who sought and found there a place of refuge amid their own distress. But the liberty which Williams thus continued to give to all comers, to indulge without restraint the wildest extravagancies of religious fanaticism, had led to a confusion of opinion and character among the inhabitants of Rhode Island, not easily to be effaced. I have already noted the description given of this state of things by Cotton Mather and others who were contemporaries of Williams. And the confirmation which their words derive from the testimony of Berkeley, proves that their hatred of Williams had not tempted them to exaggerate the truth. If Cotton Mather, for instance, could represent Rhode Island as 'a colluvies of Antinomians, Familists, Anabaptists, Anti-Sabbatarians, Arminians, Socinians, Quakers, Ranters, and every thing but Roman Catholics and true Christians,—*bona terra, mala gens*;' it is a representation which certainly may be regarded as in some degree borne out by that which Berkeley gave, a few months after his arrival, in a letter to Prior. He reckons the population of Newport at that time to be about 6000, and says,

'The inhabitants are of a mixed kind, consisting of many sects, and subdivisions of sects. Here are four sorts of Anabaptists, besides Presbyterians, Quakers, Independents, and many of no profession at all. Notwithstanding so many differences, here are fewer quarrels about religion than elsewhere, the people living peaceably

[17] See Vol. ii. 167—169.

with their neighbours of whatsoever persuasion. They all agree in one point, that the Church of England is the second best[18].'

Berkeley confirms this description, in the more deliberate account given, a few years afterwards, of the same people, in his Anniversary Sermon, preached before the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, and supplies withal the reason of the cessation, which is mentioned above, of their religious feuds. He says that they consisted

'Chiefly of sectarians of many different denominations, who seem to have worn off part of that prejudice which they inherited from their ancestors against the national Church of this land; though it must be acknowledged, at the same time, that many of them have worn off a serious sense of all religion. Several, indeed, of the better sort are accustomed to assemble themselves regularly on the Lord's Day for the performance of divine worship. But most of those who are dispersed throughout this colony seem to rival some well-bred people of other countries in a thorough indifference for all that is sacred, being equally careless of outward worship and of inward principles, whether of faith or practice. Of the bulk of them, it may certainly be said that they live without the sacraments, not being so much as baptized; and, as for their morals, I apprehend there is nothing to be found in them that should tempt others

[18] This universal admission of the Church of England to the second rank, whilst each differing sect claimed for itself the first, may remind the classical reader of the judgment which the allied Greek commanders delivered at Neptune's altar after the defeat of Xerxes, upon the comparative merits of those who had distinguished themselves during the Persian war. After having given their votes for the purpose of determining who should be accounted worthy of receiving the first, and who the second prize, it was found that whilst each commander had voted himself to be alone worthy of the first, a large majority had agreed in awarding the second to Themistocles; no slight proof, as Herodotus remarks, of their secret conviction that the palm of excellence did, after all, belong properly to him; and that it was only their own envy which deprived him of it. Herod. viii. 123, 124.

to make an experiment of their principles, either in religion or in government[19].'

In the midst of this confused medley, some few faithful Missionaries of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, Honyman, Macsparran, Guy, and Pigot, had already been for some time labouring, and not only at Newport, and other places in Rhode Island, but in several towns upon the adjacent continent, had proved that their labours were not in vain. Berkeley did not intrude officiously into any of the fields of Christian service in which these men were engaged; but, being welcomed by them as their friend and guide, obeyed readily every invitation of theirs, and rejoiced to strengthen their hands and to bear their burdens. Several manuscript Sermons preached by him, upon these occasions, most of them at Newport, and one in Naragansett county, still remain[20]. The earliest bears date January 26, 1728-9; the latest, first Sunday in August, 1730. They are written in brief notes on one sheet of paper, and exhibit, even in this skeleton form, a faithful enforcement of the Word of God, clear and strong reasoning, and felicitous illustration. His preaching attracted large congregations to Trinity Church. 'All sects,' it is said, 'rushed to hear him; even the Quakers, with their broad-brimmed hats, came and stood in the aisles[21].

[19] Bowdler's edition of Anniversary Sermons for S. P. G. p. 60.

[20] See p. 85, *note*, *ante*. The publication of these MSS. would greatly enrich any future edition of Berkeley's Works.

[21] Memoirs of the Rhode Island Bar, in Updike's History, &c. 120.

After Berkeley's return to England, he presented an excellent organ to Trinity Church, which still remains there, surmounted by a crown in the centre, and supported by two mitres, one on each side. Updike, *ut sup.* 396, 397.

His friendship with Johnson of Stratford, Connecticut.

The arrival of such a man in that country could not fail to awaken the liveliest interest and thankfulness in the hearts of all who, like himself, were animated by the fire of a holy zeal. And by none were these feelings more truly or largely shared than by Johnson, who, as we shall find in the next chapter had been received, a few years before, from the ranks of the Nonconformists into those of the Church of England, and appointed the Society's Missionary at Stratford in Connecticut. Eager to enjoy the privilege of Berkeley's co-operation and counsel, Johnson waited upon him soon after his arrival, and was received with all that hearty and graceful kindness which ever distinguished him. From that interview, may be dated the commencement of a friendship which, to the end of Johnson's life, was a source of purest happiness to him. The character of his mind and his course of study resembled, in many respects, those of Berkeley; and, from this cause, it was natural that their conversations in Rhode Island, and their correspondence afterwards, should frequently turn upon a subject which had already engrossed so much of Berkeley's attention, namely, the efforts by which the so-called Freethinkers of that day sought to assail Christianity. Berkeley was led thereby to continue the investigation of arguments which had been urged from that quarter, and with which he had long been familiar; and his freedom from many of the distractions to which his duties in Ireland or in England had exposed him, enabled him to prosecute the enquiry with success. His discussions with Johnson served to keep his thoughts more closely in the same channel; and at length the way

'The Minute Philosopher.'

was opened for him to give expression to them in his immortal work of 'Alciphron, or the Minute Philosopher.' This work was for the most part written, if not completed, by Berkeley, in Rhode Island[22]; and we may even now trace, in the beautiful picture which graces its introduction, a description of his own feelings at that time, and the manner in which he nobly strove to overcome the vexations and difficulties that encumbered him. The scenery of the picture, indeed, is purely English; and the structure of the dialogues that follow required that it should be so. But, as we gaze upon it, the slightest effort of the imagination may carry us back to the shores of Newport[23], and to the time when Berkeley was there seeking, in the prosecution of his great argument, a relief from the sickening cares and disappointments by which he was beset. The beginning of it is as follows:

'I flattered myself, Theages, that before this time, I might have been able to have sent you an agreeable account of the success of the affair which brought me into this remote corner of the country. But instead of this, I should now give you the detail of its miscarriage, if I did not rather choose to entertain you with some amusing incidents which have helped to make me easy under a circumstance I could neither obviate nor foresee. Events are not in our power; but it always is, to make a good use even of the very worst. And I must needs own, the course and event of this affair gave opportunity for reflections that make me some amends for a

[22] Chandler's Life of Johnson, p. 57.

[23] Berkeley's house was built in a valley, a little to the south of which was a natural alcove formed among the (so called) hanging rocks, which became his favourite place of study, and in which he had his chair and writing apparatus placed (Updike's History, &c. 396). The chair, in which Berkeley is supposed to have written his 'Minute Philosopher,' is still preserved as a precious relic in the family of Dr. Coit, to whom it has descended; and an engraving of it is given at p. 306 of Updike's History.

great loss of time, pains, and expense. A life of action, which takes its issue from the counsels, passions, and views of other men, if it doth not draw a man to imitate, will at least teach him to observe. And a mind at liberty to reflect on its own observations, if it produce nothing useful to the world, seldom fails of entertainment to itself. For several months past, I have enjoyed such liberty and leisure in this distant retreat, far beyond the verge of that great whirlpool of business, faction, and pleasure, which is called *the world*. And a retreat in itself agreeable, after a long scene of trouble and disquiet, was made much more so by the conversation and good qualities of my host, Euphranor, who unites in his own person the philosopher and the farmer, two characters not so inconsistent in nature as by custom they seem to be [24].'

Failure of Berkeley's hopes.

Whilst Berkeley was illustrating in his own person the truth of the sentiments which he thus expressed, and striving 'to make a good use even of the very worst events' which could befal him; whilst he was thankfully profiting by his temporary removal from 'the verge of that great whirlpool of business, faction, and pleasure, which is called the world,' and seeking to gather for himself and others materials of thought, which might 'make some amends for the great loss of time, pains, and expense' which he had incurred; whilst he was proving, by his cheerful preparation of stores for his future College, and by his diligent prosecution of severer studies, that he could indeed 'unite in his own person the philosopher and the farmer,' and show thereby that the 'two characters' were 'not so inconsistent in nature as by custom they seem to be;'—the tidings at length reached him of the final overthrow of the scheme which he had cherished so long and ardently. Bishop Gibson, after having received many excuses, entreated that he might have an interview with Sir

[24] Berkeley's Works, i. 321, &c.

Robert Walpole, and obtain, for Berkeley's sake, a definite answer to his application, whether the promised grant were to be paid or not. The interview was acceded to, and Walpole gave this answer:

'If you put this question to me as a minister, I must, and can assure you, that the money shall most undoubtedly be paid as soon as suits with public convenience; but if you ask me as a friend, whether Dean Berkeley should continue in America, expecting the payment of £20,000, I advise him by all means to return home to Europe, and to give up his present expectations.'

Compelled to return to England.

This answer was of course conclusive, and Berkeley was compelled to return to England. To have remained any longer in Rhode Island would have been to linger in a field of duty in which other labourers were already at work; and to have ventured across to the Bermudas, without further help, would have been fruitless.

Reflections thereon.

Heavy, indeed, was the disappointment to find all his plans thus frustrated, and so many of the most precious years of his life wasted upon a vain project. But, heavier far the disgrace inflicted upon the government and nation of England, which could allow such a man to return home in such a manner. Regarding the transaction only as one which betrays a reckless disregard of distinct and solemn promises, it is one of which every honest Englishman must feel ashamed. But when we consider what "a great door and effectual" was actually "opened unto" our Church and nation, in the enterprise to which Berkeley here led the way, and find that it was thus, at the last, and apparently for ever, closed, it is impossible to describe adequately the wickedness of that worldly policy which brought about the result. And, if sin be ever found to bring with it

its own punishment, may we not, without presumption, believe that the evils which ensued, in the same century, from the neglect of the spiritual interests of our Colonies,—evils, which not all our exertions, in the present day, have been able to efface,—were a direct chastisement upon this kingdom, for having so cruelly blasted the noblest effort of one of the noblest of her sons?

Mackintosh, speaking after the event, seems to have regarded the undertaking to which it had put an end, with feelings not dissimilar to those with which Swift had contemplated it, whilst it was yet future. Both, indeed, are constrained to describe it as 'noble and generous, and heroic.' But the one, we have seen, would fain have used his own influence, and that of the nobleman to whom he wrote, to have kept Berkeley from venturing upon it at all. And the other dwells only upon the temporal advantages to Berkeley, which followed his compulsory return. He tells us, that, 'disappointed in his ambition of keeping a school for savage children, at the salary of one hundred pounds by the year, he was received, on his return, with open arms,' by the good and great of England; that 'the philosophical Queen' Caroline welcomed him to her presence; that, in the metaphysical discussions which were carried on in her Court, he was the distinguished coadjutor of Sherlock and Smalridge against Clarke and Hoadley; and that, by virtue of the influence thus lawfully acquired, among those who then stood in high places,—aided as it was by the publication of his celebrated 'Alciphron,' and by his blameless and holy life,—he was soon afterwards, in 1734, consecrated Bishop of Cloyne[25].

[25] Mackintosh's Dissertation, *ut sup.*

That Berkeley, wheresoever he was placed, won golden opinions; and that, as a Bishop of the Church of Ireland, he continued to exhibit the same faithful and pure and kindly spirit, which had animated and controuled him throughout each stage of earlier life, is most true. But this does not, and cannot, remove the sorrow which must arise, as we contemplate the overthrow of hopes cherished with such an holy zeal, and to the realisation of which a man so pre-eminently gifted had sought to devote all that he had, or hoped for, in this world.

Application of the grant once promised to him.

The monies, arising from the sale of the lands in St. Kitt's, thus unjustly released from the obligation which rested upon a part of them, were soon appropriated to other purposes. The whole amount was £90,000, of which £80,000 were set apart as the dower of the Princess Royal on her marriage with the Prince of Orange[26]. The remainder was afterwards applied, at the instance of General Oglethorpe, to the establishment of his new Colony of Georgia. The latter sum was granted probably with the greater readiness by Parliament to that object, because it may have been deemed of a nature somewhat akin to that to which double that amount, from the same source, had formerly been voted in favour of Berkeley. Oglethorpe, indeed, felt so strongly the justice of regarding Berkeley's prior claim, that he abstained from moving for any other application of the balance of the monies, until he had first ascertained from Berkeley that there was no intention on his part of renewing his project. This delicate forbearance of Oglethorpe,

[26] House of Commons' Journal, May 17, 1733.

in a matter which then occupied every hour of his waking thoughts, should here be noted, as a mark of that upright and generous spirit of which we shall have to observe many more evidences, when we come to speak more particularly of him and of his undertaking.

His donations to Yale College.

Berkeley retired from Rhode Island with an affectionate and grateful remembrance of those with whom he had there been connected. He distributed, among the Clergy of the province, the valuable books which he had taken out with him. And Johnson, at the same time, preferred to him a request which, not long afterwards, was granted to an extent far beyond his expectations. Remembering how largely he and his brethren had been indebted to the works of some of the best writers of the Church of England,—which, as we shall learn from the next chapter, had unexpectedly found their way among the Congregationalists of Connecticut,—he entreated Berkeley to extend the like benefit to other generations by giving like contributions to the library of Yale College. Berkeley had already formed a favourable opinion of the College from his acquaintance with some of its chief managers, and was therefore the more disposed to enter into Johnson's views. Upon his return to England, he sent over, with the assistance of his friends, as a present to Yale College, nearly a thousand volumes, of which the value was computed at little less than £500—'the finest collection of books, it is said, that ever came, at one time, to America.' He also made over, by a deed of conveyance, to the same institution, for the encouragement of classical learning, the farm of 96 acres which he had purchased, and upon which he had lived,

in Rhode Island, and which is known to this day by the name of 'The Dean's Farm[27].' It is said by Johnson's biographer that some of the Trustees of Yale College were at first perplexed by the gift, and almost afraid to accept it. Knowing to their cost the effects which had already been produced among a portion of their scholars by an acquaintance with some of the best guides in the English Church, they hesitated to admit more. They could hardly believe that Berkeley was not meditating some evil against them, under the semblance of this kindness. But good sense and just confidence prevailed. His generous donations were gratefully accepted. And that friendly intercourse between Berkeley and the authorities of the College,—begun during his residence in Rhode Island, and now strengthened,—was maintained to the latest period of his life. A letter to the President of Yale College, from Berkeley, July 25, 1751, a year and a half before his death, is still on record, in which he states the 'pleasure, and ample recompence, for all' his 'donations,' which he received from the reports made to him[28].

And in other quarters.

The desire of Berkeley to promote the best interests of his fellow-subjects in North America was not manifested in such acts only. The like spirit was evinced by the assistance which he rendered in other quarters. He had lost no time,

[27] Clapp's Hist. of Yale College, 37, 38; Chandler's Life of Johnson, 58, 59; Jarvis, quoted by Hawkins, 174, *note*.

[28] A picture of Berkeley and his family is now in a room adjoining the celebrated Trumbull Gallery in Yale College. It was painted by Smilert, the artist who went out with him, and afterwards settled at Boston, and became the master of Copley, father of the present Lord Lyndhurst. Buckingham's America, i. 402.

upon his return to England, in giving back to his friends the several sums which they had subscribed to his Bermuda scheme; and, finding, after an interval of fifteen or sixteen years, that a sum of £200 still remained unclaimed, and that no means were left open to him of ascertaining to whom it belonged, he proposed to make over the whole of such balance to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts. His letter (endorsed 1747) to the Secretary will best explain his views on the subject.

'Rev. Sir,—Two hundred pounds of the money contributed towards the college intended at Bermuda I have left many years lodged in the bank of Messrs. Hoare and Arnold, in Fleet Street, designing to return it (as I had already done by other sums) to the donors when known. But, as these continue still unknown, and there is no likelihood of my ever knowing them, I think the properest use that can be made of that sum is, to place it in the hands of your Society for Propagating the Gospel, to be employed by them in the furtherance of their good work, in such manner as to them shall seem most useful. If the Society thinks fit, I believe fifty pounds of it might be usefully employed in purchasing the most approved writings of the divines of the Church of England, to which I would have added the Earl of Clarendon's History of the Civil Wars, and the whole sent as a benefaction to Harvard College, at Cambridge, near Boston, New England, as a proper means to inform their judgment, and dispose them to think better of the Church.

'I am, Rev. Sir,

'Your faithful, humble servant,

'G. Cloyne.'

The postscript of a second letter upon the same subject is also extant, in which Berkeley sets down, according to a request made to him to that effect, a list of the books which he thought most likely to be useful:

'Hooker, Chillingworth, the Sermons of Barrow, Tillotson, Sharp,

and Clarke, Scott's Christian Life, Pearson on the Creed, Burnet on the Thirty-Nine Articles, Burnet's History of the Reformation, Abp. Spotswood's History of the Church of Scotland, Clarendon's History, Prideaux's Connection, Cave's Historia Literaria Ecclesiæ, Hammond's Annotations, Pole's Synopsis Critic., the Patres Apostolici, published by Le Clerc, with the Dissertations of Pearson, &c. on the Epistles of Ignatius. These, I guess, will amount to about thirty pounds; if approved of, the Society will be pleased to add as many more as will make up the fifty pounds, or otherwise they will be pleased to name them all[29].'

His Sermon before The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts.

Some years before he exhibited this latter proof of active and judicious kindness, Berkeley had conferred a greater favour upon the Society to whom he made this proposal, in the wise and persuasive reasoning of his Sermon addressed to them at the Anniversary Meeting, in 1732. It was the first occasion upon which the preacher had personally visited those distant fields of duty to which he directed the attention of others; and this fact, supported by the extraordinary reputation of the man himself, could not fail to stamp upon his words a deeper impress of authority. The information which it contains of the condition of our Western Colonies at that time, is, for the most part, confined to that portion of them in which he had lived, and of which, as an eye-witness, he could distinctly speak. His description of the inhabitants of Rhode Island has been already cited. I will here, therefore, only insert his description of the Clergy who had been appointed to minister in that and the adjacent provinces. Speaking of the obligation laid upon the English Planters to set up

His description therein of its Missionaries,

[29] Hawkins, 173, 174.

before the heathen the example of a godly life, he adds:

'The missionaries employed by this venerable Society have done, and continue to do, good service in bringing those Planters to a serious sense of religion, which it is hoped will in time extend to others. I speak it knowingly, that the ministers of the Gospel in those provinces which go by the name of New England, sent and supported at the expense of this Society, have, by their sobriety of manners, discreet behaviour, and a competent degree of useful knowledge, shown themselves worthy the choice of those who sent them, and particularly in living on a more friendly footing with their brethren of the separation; who, on their part, are also very much come off from that narrowness of spirit which formerly kept them at such an unamicable distance from us. And as there is reason to apprehend that part of America could not have been thus distinguished, and provided with such a number of proper persons, if one half of them had not been supplied out of the dissenting seminaries of the country,—who, in proportion as they attain to more liberal improvements of learning, are observed to quit their prejudice towards an Episcopal Church; so I verily think it might increase the number of such useful men, if provision were made to defray their charges in coming hither to receive holy orders; passing and repassing the ocean, and tarrying the necessary time in London, requiring an expense that many are not able to bear. It would also be an encouragement to the missionaries in general, and probably produce good effects, if the allowance of certain missionaries were augmented in proportion to the service they had done, and the time they had spent in their mission. These hints I venture to suggest, as not unuseful in an age wherein all humane encouragements are found more necessary than at the first propagation of the Gospel.'

The above passage is worthy of notice, not merely as recording the testimony of the most competent of witnesses to the high character of the Society's Missionaries in that day and country; but also as showing the feeling which Berkeley entertained towards our 'brethren of the separation,' and the duty which he believed was incumbent upon our Church

to observe respecting them. He knew, as well as any man, the causes which had divided the brethren, and made New England the chief habitation of Separatists. The name of 'brethren,' which he gave to them, was a proof that, in his judgment, the offices of brotherly kindness was still their due; and, that only by the simple and faithful discharge of these, could the remembrance of former animosities be obliterated, and the work of reconciliation made complete. It was a subject, therefore, of real joy to him, to find a way gradually opening to that end.

And the seminaries of New England.

Berkeley, whilst he gratefully acknowledges this change of feeling, could not withhold from the Separatists of New England the praise that was their due. He freely admits the benefits of the Schools and Colleges which, amid all their difficulties, had been established at an early period among them. And, knowing from the examples of the many distinguished men, of whom the following chapter will speak more fully, that the prejudices, which some of the ablest *Alumni* of these Institutions had inherited against the Church of England, had been done away by a more extended knowledge of the real facts of the case, he argued that it was the duty, and would be for the advantage, of that Church, to open the door more widely to the admission of such men, and extend to them that aid which justice, not less than generous sympathy, required at her hands. The sense of this obligation in Berkeley's mind was no slight and transient thought, but a deep and abiding conviction. It prompted him, at the time that he gave utterance to such sentiments from the pulpit, to secure to Yale College the large donations of books and lands which have been already mentioned. And, 15 years

afterwards, it was again seen animating him, in the suggestion which he urged upon the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, and with which they complied, that a like benefaction of books (although on a smaller scale) should be sent to the elder Institution of Harvard College, and for a like purpose,—namely, 'as a proper means to inform their judgment, and dispose them to think better of our Church[30].'

The interest which Berkeley thus manifested in the Schools and Colleges of New England, ceased not but with his death. This plainly appears from his correspondence, already referred to, with the authorities of Yale College, and from his advice to Johnson and others, when another College was about to be established at New York, of which Johnson was chosen President in 1754. Throughout the whole of the preliminary proceedings, Berkeley was consulted, and promoted the scheme with all the ardour of his earlier years. In one of his letters upon this subject, dated Cloyne, Aug. 23, 1749, a passage occurs which shows how highly he still thought of the spirit that was then at work in New England.

'Let them by all means supply themselves out of the seminaries in New England. For I am very apprehensive none can be got in Old England (who are willing to go) worth sending[31].'

His compassion for the Indians and Negroes.

It would not be right to leave this notice of Berkeley's Anniversary Sermon, without remarking the terms in which he therein expresses his compassion for the Indians and Negroes of Rhode Island. The Indians of that Colony, who had formerly been computed to have been many thou-

[30] For the early history of Harvard College, see Vol. ii. 181.

[31] Chandler's Life of Johnson, Appendix, 161.

sands, were then reduced to one thousand. And this reduction Berkeley ascribes not only to war and sickness, but, more than all, to the indulgence of strong drink, which they had first learnt from their English masters, and which, being communicated through them to other Indian tribes, was spreading havoc far and wide.

'The Negroes,' he proceeds, 'in the government of Rhode Island, are about half as many more than the Indians, and both together scarcely amount to a seventh part of the whole Colony. The religion of these people, as is natural to suppose, takes after their masters. Some few are baptized; several frequent the different assemblies, and far the greater part none at all. An ancient apathy to the Indians, whom it seems our first planters (therein, as in certain other particulars, affecting to imitate Jews rather than Christians) imagined they had a right to tread on the foot of Canaanites or Amalekites [32],—together with an irrational contempt of the blacks, as creatures of another species, who had no right to be instructed or admitted to the sacraments,—have proved a main obstacle to the conversion of these poor people. To this may be added an erroneous notion that the being baptized is inconsistent with a state of slavery. To undeceive them in this particular, which had too much weight, it seemed a proper step, if the opinion of His Majesty's Attorney and Solicitor General could be procured. This opinion they charitably sent over, signed with their own hands, which was accordingly printed in Rhode Island, and dispersed throughout the plantations. I heartily wish it may produce the intended effect.'

One more notice of Berkeley's Sermon, and I have done. It is that part of it which acknowledges the care bestowed by the French and Spanish Roman Catholics upon the Indians and Negroes in their Colonies, and the reproach which that fact cast upon

[32] That Berkeley did not herein misrepresent the opinions of the first Puritan settlers in the neighbourhood of Rhode Island, see the pleas urged by them, Vol. ii. 177.

others who professed a purer faith. He follows up that acknowledgment by the following significant sentence:

'They have also Bishops, and seminaries for their Clergy; and it is not found that their Colonies are worse subjects, or depend less on their mother-country on that account.'

His remark on the importance of Colonial Episcopacy.

I call attention to this sentence, because it condemns an opinion which had arisen out of the ignorance and selfishness of many of our countrymen in that day, and which our secular politicians were too willing to encourage, that to appoint Bishops over our Colonial Churches would be to make them, and the Colonies in which they were settled, independent of the salutary controul of the Mother-country. That this was a miserable and short-sighted and cruel policy, which provoked and hastened the very evils which it professed itself anxious to avoid, was proved too truly by the event. When Berkeley, therefore, pointed out its fallacy, he did but anticipate the truth which has since been so signally confirmed, that, wheresoever the ties which bind a Colony to its parent country have been broken, it is not because the rights of the Colony have been fully and freely granted, but because they have been jealously and obstinately withheld.

Consecrated Bishop of Cloyne.

Upon the sequel of Berkeley's career, it were superfluous to dwell in this place. I would only remark, that, amid the duties of his Diocese, which he administered with equal fidelity and success, he still cherished the liveliest interest for those his countrymen in the West, among whom he was once so anxious to have cast in his lot. He could find time to write to them, and advise them, even whilst he continued to pursue, with undiminished

ardour, his own varied studies. Whether he were engaged in exposing the errors of his old antagonists, the Free-thinkers, or seeking to mitigate the evils which then, as now, distracted unhappy Ireland, or soothing the passions of disaffected men, whilst the arms of the Pretender threatened the peace of England, or ministering to the relief of bodily ailment and distress amongst the poor around him,—in the prosecution of which service he was led so wonderfully onward from the observation of things visible and temporal to that of things unseen and eternal[33],—he could still turn back, in heart and affection, to the friends with whom he had conversed upon the shores of Newport, and help forward the counsels in which they were engaged for the welfare of the American people.

His death.

The death of such a man was an event which created deepest sorrow on either side of the Atlantic. Towards the end of 1752, his health and strength had begun to fail, and he had expressed an anxiety to be relieved, if it were possible, from the duties of his See. He withdrew, for a time, with his family to Oxford, that he might be near his son, who was then a student of Christ Church. On the evening of a Sunday in the following January, whilst he was reclining on a couch, and his wife was reading to him a Sermon of Sherlock, the spirit of Berkeley passed

[33] It is hardly necessary to remind the reader that I here refer to Berkeley's 'Siris; or, Chain of Philosophical Reflections and Inquiries concerning the Virtues of Tar Water.' At the end of a long letter to one of his friends in America on the projected College at New York, he thus refers to the distractions which that work cost him. 'My correspondence with patients that drink tar water obliges me to be less punctual in corresponding with my friends. But I shall always be glad to hear from you.' Chandler's Life of Johnson, Appendix, 162.

away from its earthly tabernacle, without a struggle and without a groan[34]. His body rests in the Cathedral of Christ Church; and the visitor may yet read, upon the tablet which marks his grave, lines which the hand of Markham[35] once traced, and the truth of which will find an echo in every faithful heart:

Si Christianus fueris,
Si amans Patriæ,
Utroque nomine gaudere potes,
BERKLEIUM vixisse.

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[34] In the Biographia Britannica it is said that he had just been expounding to his family 1 Cor. xv.

[35] Afterwards Archbishop of York.

CHAPTER XXIX.

THE REVIVAL OF REVERENCE AND AFFECTION IN MANY OF THE PEOPLE OF NEW ENGLAND TOWARDS THE CHURCH WHICH THEIR FATHERS HAD FORSAKEN.

A.D. 1714—1776.

Hostility of the New England settlers to the Church of England.

We have now reached that stage in the history of the 18th century, at which it becomes necessary to trace the causes and consequences of an important change of feeling, which arose simultaneously in the minds of many distinguished ministers of New England towards the Church from which they and their fathers had been long separated. The fierce and obstinate struggles which led to this separation, we have seen, were coeval with the settlement of our first Colonies in the West. In many instances, indeed, the one was the avowed and proximate cause of the other. And with such bitter hatred did they who fled from persecution in the land of their birth become persecutors in the land of their adoption, that even to name the Book of Common Prayer, or to observe it with reverence, was deemed an offence only to be expiated by the instant banishment of those guilty of it. The same relentless

spirit of hostility continued to animate the successors of the first settlers in Massachusetts, as they spread through the adjacent provinces. Although born and nurtured in the Church of England, they had been taught to look upon her as the Nazareth out of which it was impossible that any good thing could come; and, denouncing all participation in her ordinances, and all knowledge of the writings of her faithful sons, they dried up some of the most precious channels through which wisdom and truth had been so long permitted to flow forth for the refreshment of a weary world.

A College in Connecticut.

They had always shown, indeed, their readiness to provide for the education of their youth. The institution of Harvard College, and the enactment of laws providing for the establishment of Grammar Schools in every township which numbered within it an hundred families, testified to the zeal and energy with which the people of Massachusetts had applied themselves to this work before the first half of the 17th century had passed away. And, before that century expired, the like spirit arose in Connecticut. Some of the most active Congregationalist ministers in the province met together to concert a scheme for the erection of a College, which was to be called 'the School of the Church,' and in which the students were to be instructed 'for publick employments in Church and Civil State,' according to 'a Confession of Faith to be consented to by the Resident Inspectors and Tutors.' After long and frequent consultation, a petition followed to the representatives of the King's government in the Colony for a Charter, which should secure to the intended College the powers required for its effective administration.

The Charter was granted, and the Trustees held their first meeting Nov. 11, 1701. Saybrook, at the mouth of the Connecticut river, was chosen for the site of the future College; Abraham Pierson its first Rector; and the first 'Commencement' was held Sept. 13, 1702. A Confession of Faith, the same in substance, and nearly the same in words, with the Westminster and Savoy Confessions, was drawn up and agreed to 'by the united ministry, formerly called Presbyterian and Congregational' in the Colony, and assembled in a general Synod. A plan also of ecclesiastical government, and articles and rules for the administration of Church discipline, were at the same time drawn up.

Established first at Saybrook,

The framework, therefore, of the Institution was speedily formed; but several years passed away, before it received stability and life. Although Saybrook had been marked out for the site, no continuous course of instruction was carried on in that place. The first Rector was allowed to reside at Hillingworth until his death, in 1707. His temporary successor, Andrew, lived at Milford; and the students were scattered about in private houses in that and other places, as well as at Saybrook. Irregularities and dissatisfaction ensued, and, in 1716, it was resolved, not without much opposition, to remove the College to Newhaven, where it has ever since existed.

Afterwards at Newhaven;

Several benefactions of books and money had already been presented to the College, even in its wandering and imperfect state; the most valuable of which was a library of eight hundred volumes, sent, in 1714, through the hands of Jeremiah Dummer, of Boston, then an agent in

And called Yale College from its chief benefactor.

London, to which some of the most distinguished men in literature and science in England had contributed. But, after the College was fixed at Newhaven, its benefactors rapidly increased; of whom the most distinguished was Elihu Yale, whose father, descended from an ancient family in Wales, had accompanied some of the first settlers to Newhaven, in 1638. Elihu, born a few years afterwards, had been sent as a boy to England, and thence proceeded to India, where he amassed a large fortune, and rose to the position of Governor of Madras[1]. His wife, the widow of a former Governor, had borne him three daughters, one of whom was afterwards married to Dudley, Lord North, and another to Lord James Cavendish. The third died unmarried. Upon his return to England, where he occupied a prominent post in the administration of the East India Company, he entered into correspondence with his relatives in Connecticut, with a view of making one of them his heir; and was thereby led to take an interest in the affairs of the Colony. He soon surpassed all others in the number and greatness of his benefactions to the new College; and, in commemoration of these valuable services, the Trustees resolved to call the College after his name. A record to this effect was accordingly drawn up and passed, amid much pomp and ceremony, at the 'Commencement,' held Sept. 12, 1718.

A new and favourable career now appeared to be fairly opened; and, although the peace of the College was, for a brief season, disturbed by some unseemly disputes of students and tutors, at the different places

[1] The name of Yale appears among those of the contributors to the building of the first Church in Madras. See Vol. ii. Appendix, 582.

in Connecticut, in which, during the absence of a resident Rector, the work of instruction had been attempted to be carried on, yet one chief cause of these difficulties was now removed by the appointment of Timothy Cutler to the office of Rector. He had been for ten years a Congregationalist minister of high repute at Stratford; and, having entered upon his new duties with the hearty approval of the Trustees, the strongest hope of a successful issue to his labours was cherished in every quarter[2].

Defective state of Education in the Colleges of New England.

But the jealous and narrow-minded spirit, which had intruded itself into the first constitution of the College, could not carry on its work with impunity. The men who were so eager to establish a 'School for the Church,' of which they declared themselves to be the 'united ministers,' had, through their blind hatred of the Church of England, shut out from their institution at its commencement many of the choicest instruments of Christian training. The immortal works of Hooker, Bacon, Chillingworth, Hall, Usher, Jackson, Taylor, Sanderson, had been, up to this time, carefully concealed from the students of the Colleges in New England; and the only nourishment of the soul and intellect offered in their stead proved in its quality as meagre as it was limited in extent. Their teachers deemed it a sufficient training for men who were hereafter to be as scribes "instructed in things new and old," that they should be able to translate some few Orations of Cicero, and books of the Æneid, a portion of the Greek Testament, and a few chapters of the Hebrew Psalter. A very slight acquaintance with arithmetic and survey-

[2] Clapp's Hist. of Yale College, 1—31.

ing was the sum total of mathematical knowledge required of them. Their study of logic led to no further results than an acquaintance with some of the dry forms of scholastic disputation. And, as for those distinctive systems of religious faith and discipline, for which their fathers had been content to do and to suffer so much, the only aid supplied towards their explanation and defence, was the weekly repetition by heart of the Assembly's Catechism in Latin, and Ames's Theological Theses. To these were added, in due time, Ames's Medulla and Cases of Conscience, and Wollebius; and then, the education of the future minister being judged complete, he was sent forth as the standard-bearer of Independent Orthodoxy throughout the land. So rigid was the rule which bound teacher and pupil to these subjects of study, and to these only, that it was expressly declared by the Trustees of the College at Saybrook, at their first meeting,

'That the Rector should neither by himself, nor by any other person whomsoever, allow the students to be instructed and grounded in any other system or synopsis of Divinity than such as they do order and appoint[3].'

Evil results thereof.

Then follows an enumeration of the few books I have named above; and within this miserable prison-house of the soul did the ministers of Connecticut believe that fit instruments could be prepared for their high and arduous work. The bare thought was mockery. It was impossible that truth, thus systematically outraged, should not arise and vindicate itself from its oppressors. The day soon came. The men in whom the governors of Yale College reposed their fullest confidence, and to whom they looked

[3] Ib. 10.

forward as brethren of highest promise, were the first to break loose from the trammels by which it was attempted to hold them fast. Light broke in upon the darkened chamber of their toil; and they sprang forth eagerly to welcome it. They beheld 'a rich storehouse' opened in their path 'for the glory of the Creator, and the relief of man's estate[4];' and drew near, instantly and thankfully, that they might receive and dispense its treasures. The books which the Trustees had been content to admit within the College as the nucleus of its future library, were a part of these treasures; books, written by members of that Church of England, which the Puritan Separatist had been accustomed to view with unmitigated scorn; and, by the examination of which, he had now, for the first time, an opportunity of judging truly what manner of spirit she was of. The examination was diligently and anxiously made: not, indeed, with any desire or thought of finding the Church of England guiltless of the charges imputed to her; for of the truth of these the mass of the people of Connecticut entertained no question. They had been taught to receive them as axioms from earliest childhood, and no doubt upon the matter had been suffered for a moment to cross their path in succeeding years. But, with the access of light, came the manifestation of new forms of truth, and the exposure of many a false ground of confidence; and the change hereby wrought in the minds of some of the foremost men in the province soon made itself felt.

Illustrated in the case of Samuel Johnson.

The process of the change may be traced with remarkable clearness in the history of Samuel Johnson, who has been

[4] Bacon's Advancement of Learning. Works, ii. 51.

so frequently mentioned in the last chapter as the friend of Berkeley. He had been one of the earliest students of the College at Saybrook, and was admitted there to the degree of Bachelor of Arts in 1714, being then 18 years old. He became immediately afterwards a tutor; and, upon the settlement of the College at Newhaven, was entrusted with the superintendence of it, in conjunction with his friend and fellow-student Brown. He had purchased from curiosity, whilst yet very young, a copy of Bacon's Advancement of Learning,—probably the only copy then in the country,—and, having read it with eager attention, had felt himself, to use his own words, like a person 'suddenly emerging out of the glimmer of twilight into the full sunshine of open day.' The further donations of books, which had been forwarded to the College from England, and which contained, in addition to some of the best works in classical literature and science, the writings of Barrow, Patrick, South, Tillotson, Sharp, John Scott, Whitby, and Sherlock, opened to Johnson fresh sources of information, of which he diligently availed himself. Some of the ministers and students from neighbouring towns rejoiced to profit by the same help; and, meeting frequently at the new library, maintained with him and each other an intimate and friendly interchange of thought and feeling upon the most important subjects which can occupy the human mind. Among these men were Brown and Wetmore, Johnson's class-fellows at College, and Cutler, the minister at Stratford. The immediate result of their proceedings was the introduction by Johnson of the study of some of Locke's writings and Newton's Principia, among the classes confided to his charge. His biographer, indeed, remarks, that such an innovation would pro-

bably not have been allowed, had not the disputes, at that time existing in the College upon other matters, turned away the attention of the authorities from it[5].

The steps which led him to communion with the Church of England.

In 1720, a year after the appointment of Cutler to the Rectorship, Johnson gave up his appointment at Yale College for the more congenial work of the ministry, to which he had always looked forward, and the duties of which he commenced at West Haven, a village four miles distant from the College. The proximity of West Haven to his favourite library, and to his valued friends Brown and Cutler, gave to the place its chief attraction; and Johnson entered upon his new duties with all his accustomed energy. But the acceptable mode of performing those duties, and the nature of the authority and discipline under which they were to be conducted, were subjects upon which he entertained grave doubts. The practice of praying and preaching extempore (as it is called), he had long observed to be attended with many evils. It embarrassed the timid; awakened conceit on the part of those who were of ready speech; and tempted even the most gifted minister to fall into inaccuracies and improprieties, both of matter and of manner, which ill became the sacredness and dignity of public worship. He believed also that it excited, on the part of the congregation, feelings of curiosity, and a love of captious criticism, which were at variance with the spirit of true devotion. The operation of these evils he had witnessed, again and again, in the only assemblies for private or public prayer at which he had ever been present in

[5] Chandler's Life of Johnson, 4—15.

Connecticut. Whilst a sense of their magnitude was becoming deeply impressed upon his mind, he read, in 1715, the arguments of Archbishop King, in his discourse 'Of the Inventions of Men in the Worship of God,' which appeared to him to demonstrate most powerfully the infinite superiority of sound forms of prayer over extemporaneous utterances. The year following, he met, for the first time, with the Prayer Book of the Church of England; and, seeing therein how perfectly the wants of all classes of her people were expressed in petitions which, for the most part, echoed the words, and, at all times, breathed the spirit, of Holy Scripture; how faithfully the praises of saints and martyrs and confessors of old time were renewed in her hymns of thanksgiving; and with what patient, untiring watchfulness, she waited upon the Christian pilgrim, from the font of Holy Baptism to his grave, and renewed, through every changing scene of life, the needful words of warning or of comfort;—it is no marvel that he should gradually have found feelings of reverence and admiration for the Church of England take strong possession of his mind.

But to recognise the Church of England as 'a witness and keeper of Holy Writ,' and therein a faithful teacher of righteousness unto the people, was not the only conclusion to which Johnson was now brought. A comparison of her government by Bishops, with that by which the discipline of the Congregationalists was maintained, convinced him that it was not only to be preferred to theirs, on account of the superior advantages which it conferred upon the governed; but that it was in conformity with the Apostolic model, and therefore to be received. Long and anxiously did

Johnson meditate upon these things, and many an earnest conference did he hold with his friends of Yale College, before he or they ventured to assert a judgment respecting them. Not a single path was left untrodden, which seemed likely to lead to fresh sources of knowledge; and not a single source was left unexplored. The best writers on either side of the controversy were carefully consulted, and their arguments deliberately discussed and weighed. As far as temporal ease and prospects were concerned, it would have been a welcome result to these enquirers, had they found the principles of Congregationalist government to agree, in their judgment, with those of the primitive Church of Christ. Such a conclusion would have retained them in the peaceful discharge of their accustomed duties, and have preserved unbroken the cords of love which bound them to their kindred and friends and country. But the enjoyment of present ease would cease to be a blessing, if purchased at the cost of truth; and, come therefore what might, the dictates of truth were to be obeyed.

This obedience, Johnson and his friends were prepared to render. They made no secret of their opinions, after they were fully formed; still less did they attempt to reconcile the maintenance of them with the offices to which they had been appointed in Connecticut. Rumours of their altered feelings soon spread. An interview, held at Johnson's request, in the summer of 1722, with Pigott, the Society's Missionary at Stratford, showed plainly the quarter towards which their thoughts and affections were tending. The whole province was disturbed and alarmed. The Trustees assembled; and, as soon as the annual

'Commencement,' in the following September, was ended, they requested the Rector and six other members of the College,—among whom were Johnson, Brown, and Wetmore,—to appear before them, and declare their opinions upon the various matters at issue. Each in turn obeyed the summons; and, proceeding from the youngest to the eldest, expressed, some of them, grave doubts of the validity of Presbyterian ordination, whilst the rest explicitly avowed their belief that it was invalid. The Trustees, overwhelmed with astonishment and sorrow, refused to regard this declaration of their opinions as final. They requested a written report of them; and, upon the receipt of it, sent a paper to their respective authors, entreating them to reconsider the whole question, and expressing a hope that, even yet, they might be led to a different judgment. The General Assembly was to meet in a few weeks; and, in the interval, Saltonstall, the Governor, out of personal regard towards Johnson and his friends, and a desire to avert the threatened rupture, proposed that they and the Trustees should, at a meeting over which he consented to preside, enter into a further and friendly discussion of the several points which had been mooted. A conference took place; but its only result was to bring out a more distinct declaration by Cutler, Johnson, Brown, and Wetmore of their belief, that the Church of England was a true branch of the Church of Christ, and that it became their duty to enter into communion with her. The formal resignation of their respective offices in Yale College and at West Haven immediately followed; and, on the 5th of November, the three first

Cutler, Johnson, Brown, and Wetmore avow their change of sentiments; and resign their offices. The three first embark for England.

embarked at Boston for England[6]. On the 15th of December they landed at Ramsgate, and proceeded the same evening to Canterbury, where they found themselves obliged to wait three days until the stage-coach should start for London. Their first visit the next morning was to the Cathedral, where they joined in the celebration of divine service; and we may more easily imagine than express the feelings of reverent thankfulness which filled their hearts at finding themselves in that venerable sanctuary, observing the ordinances, and sharing the devotions of a Church which, in spite of the misrepresentations and taunts of her adversaries, they had learnt to vindicate and to honour.

[6] A curious illustration of the force of prejudice is related of Johnson's congregation, when he left West Haven. He had offered, if they concurred in his views, to return among them, when he should have received ordination in the Church of England, and continue to serve on their behalf. But, notwithstanding their acknowledgment of the benefits of his ministry, they refused to accept his offer. Whereupon, he felt bound to tell them, that his instructions and prayers, upon which they professed to set so high an estimate, 'had all along been taken from the Church of England, and ought to be esteemed as much, after this circumstance was known, as they had been before.' (Chandler's Life of Johnson, 31.)

The reader may herein be reminded of the story told of Bishop Bull, who, during the Commonwealth, whilst he was yet a young man, committed to memory the various services in our Prayer Book, and made them the channel of the public devotions of the people, in the Parish of which he was then minister. The consequence of which was (says his biographer) 'that they who were most prejudiced against the Liturgy, did not scruple to commend Mr. Bull as a person that prayed by the Spirit, though at the same time they railed at the Common Prayer as a beggarly element, and as a carnal performance.' Nelson's Life of Bull, Works, i. 333—335.

In the course of the same afternoon they called upon the Dean, Dr. Stanhope. Not having the ordinary passport of a letter of introduction, but trusting simply to the cause which they had in hand, they presented themselves at the Deanery, and begged the servant to carry in word, 'that they were gentlemen from America, come over for Holy Orders, who were desirous of paying their respects to the Dean.' The Dean himself came immediately to the door, and bade them a hearty welcome; adding, to their surprise, that their names and purpose in coming to England were well known to him; that their Declaration in Connecticut, in favour of the Church of England, had already been published in the English Journals; and that some of the Prebendaries, then his guests, were at that moment engaged with him in reading it. Every feeling of hesitation, which might naturally have embarrassed men who had set foot in a strange land, was dispelled by such an assurance as this. Entering under the roof of the good Dean, they felt, in the kindness which he and his friends showed to them, that they were no more strangers, but brothers; and, with the love and confidence of brothers, they rejoiced in the friendly offices which, from that day forward, as long as they remained in England, and after their return, never ceased to wait upon them.

Their reception by Dean Stanhope at Canterbury.

Upon arriving in London, they were received with much kindness by the Bishop of London (Robinson), by Wake, Archbishop of Canterbury, Sir William Dawes, Archbishop of York, and other influential and active members of the Society for the Propagation

Admitted into the Orders of the Church of England.

of the Gospel. Of their eminent fitness for the ministry into which they desired to be received, no doubt could be for a moment entertained; and arrangements were speedily made for their ordination and future duties. It was agreed that Cutler should be appointed to a new Church about to be opened in Boston; that Brown should be entrusted with a Mission which had become vacant at Bristol in Rhode Island; and that Johnson should be stationed at Stratford, in Connecticut, the neighbourhood of his former field of duty; whilst Pigott, who had hitherto laboured there, should be removed to Providence. The completion of these arrangements was for a time delayed by the illness of Cutler, who had a severe attack of small-pox in the course of the same winter. Upon his recovery, towards the end of March, he and his two friends were ordained Deacons and Priests in St. Martin's Church. The Bishop of London, upon whom, in the ordinary course of duty, the act of their ordination would have devolved, was then sinking into the grave; and the office was therefore delegated, by Letters Dimissory from him, to the Bishop of Norwich (Green), who was, at that time, Vicar of St. Martin's Parish. But scarcely had these devoted men attained the object towards which they had been gradually led, through many stages of anxious and painful thought, before that malady, which had been so long the dread of America and of Europe [7], and which had already smitten, though not unto death, one of their small party, reappeared with greater malignity, and struck down an-

Brown dies.

[7] See pp. 129. 164, *ante*.

other to the dust. Within a week after their ordination, Brown was seized with small-pox, and died on Easter Eve, amid the tears of those who confessed that they had lost in him a friend and fellow-labourer second to none.

Degrees conferred upon Cutler and Johnson, at Oxford and Cambridge.

The sojourn in England of his surviving brethren was necessarily brief. But many an evidence of affectionate and respectful sympathy with them was manifested before their departure. They were received at Oxford and Cambridge, with the strongest demonstrations of kindly feeling. The like public honours were conferred upon them at each University; the degree of Doctor of Divinity being given by diploma to Cutler, and that of Master of Arts to Johnson; and relations of private friendship were then formed between them and many of the leading Heads of Houses and Fellows, which bound the hearts of zealous Churchmen on both sides of the Atlantic in closest brotherhood.

Wetmore joins them from America.

At this time, they were joined by Wetmore, who had already delivered his testimony side by side with them, in the face of the authorities of Connecticut, and now came to be their companion in the ranks of the Church of England. In a few months afterwards, having received their letters of licence from Bishop Gibson, who had just been translated to the See of London; and having set before him the urgent wants of the Church in America, they set sail for that country, July 26, 1723. Upon their arrival, they proceeded forthwith to their respective posts, Cutler to Boston, and Johnson to Stratford. The services of Wetmore we have seen in a former

Cutler returns to Boston, and Johnson to Stratford.

chapter, were in due time carried on, first at New York, and afterwards at Rye [8].

The proceedings of Johnson.

The duties assigned to Johnson appear, in the first instance, to have been the most arduous. He was unable to number among his new flock at Stratford more than 30 families, who were all poor. About 40 more were scattered among the neighbouring towns of Fairfield, Norwalk, Newton, Ripton, and West Haven, whom he visited at stated periods. He could obtain, therefore, but little temporal influence and encouragement at their hands; whilst his duties on their behalf were discharged in the face of men whose close and early friendship was turned to bitterest enmity. In spite of the acknowledged disadvantages of his position, some insinuated that his only motive in seeking it had been a dishonest love of gain. Others publicly branded him with the name of traitor. Many strove, by other insulting and vexatious acts, to drive him from the province. All suspected and feared him. Johnson, nevertheless, retained a patient and cheerful spirit; and gradually won back again, by the steady, unobtrusive discharge of his duties, the respect and good will of many who had been estranged from him.

In 1725, he married a widowed daughter of Col. Floyd; and, for nearly thirty years afterwards, continued at Stratford, exhibiting the character of a faithful pastor, a diligent student, a kind neighbour, a benevolent citizen. The last chapter has shown the eagerness with which he sought the acquaintance and friendship of Berkeley; and the assistance which he gave and received from that great and good man, in

[8] See p. 331, *ante*.

his schemes for the promotion of many a good work. The like spirit was displayed by Johnson in his intercourse with other distinguished men both in America and England. His acquaintance, for example, with Burnet, son of the celebrated Bishop of Salisbury, and then Governor of New York,—a man of considerable learning, and fond of metaphysical enquiries,—led Johnson to a careful examination of some of the most important subjects of theological study: and the result enabled him, if he did not always succeed in convincing Burnet, to treasure up more distinctly and securely in his own mind, "a reason of the hope that" was in him. Meanwhile, the original grounds of controversy, so thoroughly explored by him before he made up his mind to leave his Congregationalist brethren, he was often compelled, by the appearance of fresh antagonists, to re-occupy and defend. The most remarkable of his publications upon this subject was a Tract, entitled 'Plain Reasons for Conforming to the Church,' which he drew up, in 1732, in answer to some violent attacks made by Graham of Woodbury. His labours attracted the admiration of many persons in England, especially of Secker, then Bishop of Oxford, Dr. Astry, Treasurer of St. Paul's, and Dr. Hodges, Provost of Oriel College, and Vice-Chancellor of Oxford. In consequence of their representations, that University conferred upon him, in 1743, by diploma, the degree of Doctor in Divinity; thus publicly renewing, with increased distinction, the honour which it had freely bestowed upon him twenty years before. The hope had been expressed, in the diploma for his Master's degree, that the Church of England would, through his agency, rise up with renewed

Receives the degree of Doctor of Divinity from the University of Oxford.

energy in the West[9]; and the evidences, which had appeared during the interval to show that the hope was advancing towards its accomplishment, were again gratefully acknowledged.

Extension of the Church in Connecticut under his ministry.

These evidences were to be found, not only in the ordination of such men as Caner, Beach, Seabury, and others, to whose labours our attention will soon be directed,—who, like Johnson, had been brought up in the ranks of the Congregationalists, and now rivalled him in their zeal and stedfastness as ministers of the Church of England,—but also in the spread of like feelings of attachment to the Church in the hearts of many of the intelligent and thoughtful Laymen of Connecticut. In 1736, the number of families in the Colony, in communion with the Church, was computed to be 700. At Stratford, in 1744, a larger and more handsome Church was built, in the place of that which had hitherto been the scene of Johnson's public ministrations; and, in many of the neighbouring towns, new Churches were built, and new congregations formed.

Effects of Whitefield's preaching.

The wild enthusiasm produced at the same time, by Whitefield's preaching in the province, tended, not a little, to promote the same end. At first, indeed, his vehement invectives against the Bishops and Clergy of our National Church were listened to and encouraged by the Nonconformists of Connecticut, as likely to check the growth of feeling in her favour among their own people. But the extravagant demonstrations of reli-

[9] '*Sperantes, illius ministerio, aliam et eandem, olim, nasciturum Ecclesiam Anglicanam.*' Chandler's Life of Johnson, 71.

gious excitement which ensued, turning their assemblies into scenes of disgraceful uproar, generating strife in every quarter, and bidding defiance to all the efforts of secular or spiritual authorities to restrain them, soon made them tremble for their own safety. In the midst of such confusion and peril, the ministrations of the Church of England were continued with unabated zeal and stedfastness; and many thankfully repaired to it as the ark which could alone carry them in safety over the raging floods.

Johnson declines the headship of the College at Philadelphia;

The personal influence of Johnson, still the most distinguished of her ministers in Connecticut, was a powerful instrument in producing this result[10]. Nor was his influence confined only to the limits of pastoral duty. His reputation as a man of learning, and prudence, and energy, won for him respect and confidence wheresoever his name was known. When Franklin was about to establish a College at Philadelphia, there was no man whose counsel he sought more eagerly, or whose authority, as its future Provost, he was more anxious to secure, than that of Johnson. The refusal by Johnson of this high distinction[11], was soon fol-

[10] For further details of Johnson's ministry at Stratford, see Fulham MSS., in Bp. Wilberforce's History, &c. 103—108; and in Orig. Letters of S. P. G. in Hawkins, pp. 188–197. I subjoin from the latter a passage which shows the anxiety of Johnson to assist the Indian and Negro; 'I have always (he writes) had a Catechetical lecture during the summer months, attended by many Negroes, and some Indians, about 70 or 80 in all, and, as far as I can find, where the Dissenters have baptized one we have baptized two, if not three or four, Negroes or Indians; and I have four or five communicants.'

[11] Afterwards conferred upon Dr. Smith. See p. 266, *ante*.

lowed by the offer of another of a like character, which he felt it his duty to accept.

Accepts that of the College at New York.

The Trustees of a College about to be established at New York, which bore at first the name of King's, but afterwards Columbia, College, unanimously chose him its President[12]. Its Charter provided that the President should always be a member of the Church of England, and that the prayers used in the public devotions of its members should be chosen from her Liturgy; and, as soon as it was passed, in 1754, Johnson took leave of his people at Stratford, with whom he had been united for more than thirty years, and entered upon his new duties in the Vestry-room belonging to the Corporation of Trinity Church, who had given the land upon which the College now stands. In addition to his duties as President, he also undertook the office of Lecturer at the same Church[13].

Its Charter.

The provisions of the above Charter in favour of the Church of England, passed by a majority of the Trustees, who were her members, with the Lieutenant-governor De Lancey at their head, had been warmly opposed by the Nonconformist minority at New York. Not long afterwards, upon the arrival of Governor Hardy, the latter renewed their opposition, and strove to prevent the grant of certain funds which had been raised for the College, by an Act of Assembly, through the medium of lotteries. The immediate and spontaneous contribution, by Hardy, of £500, showed his strong desire to up-

[12] For the correspondence between Johnson and Berkeley upon this subject, see p. 375, *ante*.

[13] Berrian's History, &c. 106.

hold the purpose of its institution; and the subsequent surrender by the governors to the public of half the lottery funds, effected something towards the restoration of peace among the discontented. The reasons which induced the Churchmen of New York to adhere strictly to the Charter which they had secured, are thus described in a letter to the Society:

> The Dissenters have already three Seminaries in the Northern Governments. They hold their Synods, Presbyteries, and Associations, and exercise the whole of their ecclesiastical government to the no small advantage of their cause, whilst the Churches, which are branches of the National Establishment, are deprived, not only of the benefit of a regular Church government, but their children are debarred the privilege of a liberal education, unless they will submit to accept of it on such conditions as Dissenters require, which in Yale College is to submit to a fine as often as they attend Public Worship in the Church of England, communicants only excepted, and then only on Christmas and Sacrament days. This we cannot but look upon as hard measure, especially as we can, with good conscience, declare, that we are so far from bigotry and narrowness of spirit they have of late been pleased to charge us with, that we would not, were it in our power, lay the least restraint on any man's conscience, and should heartily rejoice to continue in brotherly love and charity with all our Protestant Brethren[14].

Johnson had begged the Trustees of the College not to require his final decision upon their offer, until the question of his successor at Stratford had been determined[15]. As soon as he had secured for his former people the valuable services of Winslow, he sought with equal readiness from Bishop Sherlock and the Society the help that was needed for the support of his new charge. During his six years of office, the Society gave to the College £500. Dr. Bristowe, an active member of the Society, bequeathed to it his library of

Its early progress under Johnson.

[14] Ib. 103.

[15] Ib. 107.

1500 volumes; and Mr. Murray, an eminent lawyer in New York, left to it an estate of the value of about £10,000 currency. By Johnson's advice, Dr. Jay, a physician of New York, repaired to England for the purpose of soliciting contributions towards the College fund. Dr. Smith was already in England, upon a similar errand in behalf of his College at Philadelphia; and in order to avoid any unseemly rivalry between them, the Archbishop proposed that the collections, to be raised throughout the kingdom by virtue of a Brief issued from the Crown, should be applied for the joint benefit of the two Colleges. This was agreed to; and the net proceeds received thence by King's College amounted to near £6000. George II. added a gift of £400 to King's College, and another of £200 to that of Philadelphia. In August, 1755, the first stone of the building of King's College was laid by the Governor of New York; and every thing seemed to betoken a successful issue.

The domestic sorrows of Johnson.

As far as the exertions of Johnson could serve towards such an end, they were enough to have justified the hopes of the most sanguine. Yet he made them beneath the pressure of the greatest difficulties. In addition to the weight of declining years, the heavier burden of domestic sorrow was laid upon him. His younger son, William, who had been at first associated with him in the work of tuition in the infant College, embarked for England, towards the end of the year 1755, for the purpose of being ordained to the Society's Mission at West Chester. He was a young man of the highest promise; honoured and beloved by many, not less for his own than for his father's sake; and, having been admitted into Holy Orders, was about to

return, in the following summer, to America, when he was seized with the small-pox, and died. The next winter, Johnson was compelled, by the outbreak of the same terrible malady at New York, to withdraw to West Chester, and there strove to discharge duties which he and its inhabitants had vainly hoped might have been performed by the son for whom he mourned. Soon after his return to New York, he lost his wife, with whom he had been happily united for more than thirty-two years. Two other dear friends, and fellow-labourers with him in the College, followed her, within a few months, to the grave; and the contagious sickness, which he so much dreaded, and which had already deprived him of one son, reappeared, from time to time, in the city, with none of its destroying power abated. Johnson had yet to witness, in one more instance, the onset of that destroyer amid his own household. Three years after the death of his first wife, he had formed a second marriage with Mrs. Beach, the widow of one of his former parishioners; and, at the expiration of eighteen months, she too was seized with small-pox, and died.

He resigns his Presidentship,

This last blow deprived Johnson of all power to discharge any longer the duties of President. He had sustained the burden of them with matchless energy and patience; and, at a moment when others might have thought him overwhelmed with anxiety and grief, he wrote two valuable tracts upon the general duty of Prayer, and the especial value of the Prayer Book, which showed at once the source from which the secret of his own strength was drawn, and the eagerness with which he sought to make others partakers of the same blessing. But, knowing that it was im-

possible for him to retain his post, he had requested the help of another Professor, who might soon succeed him as President. Myles Cooper, of Queen's College, Oxford, accordingly came out, recommended by Archbishop Secker, in the autumn of 1762; and, upon the resignation of Johnson the next spring, was appointed his successor.

And resumes his duties at Stratford.

Johnson returned, with his only surviving son, to his former abode at Stratford, from which Winslow, at his own request, was about to be removed to Braintree. Upon Winslow's departure, in 1764, Johnson applied for leave to resume, among his well-known flock, the duties upon which he had first entered more than forty years before. The application was readily acceded to by the Society, and joyfully received by the people. They were permitted, for nearly eight years longer, to see their beloved Pastor exercising again all the offices of Christian love and watchfulness on their behalf. His bodily strength, indeed, was broken; and, in 1767, he was constrained to delegate part of his duties to an Assistant. But his spirit was still fresh and buoyant. And the variety of his theological studies, the extent of his correspondence with friends on either side of the Atlantic,—upon matters intimately affecting the Church at home and abroad,—the important elementary works which he drew up for the use of his grandsons who lived with him, and his ready vigilance to expose the schemes of adversaries of the Church,—come from what quarter they might,—present an amount of labour cheerfully sustained by him in the evening of his life, such as most men would shrink from undertaking even in their noon-day strength. The interest which he

manifested in the controversy, created by Dr. Mayhew's attacks upon the Church of England,—to which I shall refer more particularly hereafter,—and his wisdom and energy in vindicating the grounds (impugned in that controversy) upon which the right of an American Episcopate was established, present striking evidences of his resolute and persevering spirit. Such a vindication of the truth was in closest harmony with the purposes to which his long and laborious life had been devoted, and gave testimony not to be mistaken to the constancy of his faith and hope. The nearer he approached his end, the stronger did that constancy appear. He lived to see the morning of the Epiphany, 1772, a bright and glorious day, and expressed to his family his conviction that his strength was about to fail, and that he was soon (to use his own words) 'going home.' He called to remembrance, at that moment, his friend, the sainted Berkeley, and the tranquillity of his departure; and humbly expressed a wish that, if it were possible, his own impending change might be as tranquil. The wish was granted; and before the sun of that bright day had set, Johnson had drawn his last breath without a struggle[16].

His death.

The career of Cutler at Boston was marked by difficulties and successes the same in kind with those experienced by Johnson. The like jealous opposition of a powerful majority was constantly at work to thwart him. The like temporary interruption was given to their proceedings and his, through the marvellous excitement of Whitefield's preaching. The like steady and consistent adherence to the doctrines and discipline of

Cutler's ministry at Boston.

[16] Chandler's Life of Johnson, 31—124.

the Church, in whose ranks he served, conciliated in the end the respect and love of many of his most determined adversaries. He was permitted also to carry on the work of his ministry, in the same place, through more than 40 years: having been appointed Rector of Christ Church, in 1723, and dying there in 1765. Midway between these two periods, appeared the chief outbreaks of religious enthusiasm consequent upon Whitefield's visits; and Cutler describes the same damaging results, produced thereby among the Nonconformists of Massachusetts, and the same reaction in favour of our National Church, which, we have seen, took place in Connecticut [17]. Thus he writes, in 1744, respecting Whitefield:

His notice of Whitefield's proceedings,

> He has brought town and country into trouble. Multitudes flock after him, but without that fervency and fury as heretofore. For some are ashamed of what is past; others, both of teachers and people, make loud opposition, being sadly hurt by the animosities, divisions, and separations, that have ensued upon it, and the sad intermissions of labour and business; and observing libertine principles and practice advancing on it, and the Church little ruffled by such disorders, but growing in numbers and reputation.

Again, in 1746,

> Should Mr. Whitefield visit us from the southward, his operations would, I believe, be weaker than heretofore. The Church, to be sure, apprehends the less disturbance from him the oftener he visits us. The dissenters who cherished him are now the sufferers, and his particular friends the most; their teachers not contenting many of their own people, who separate from them because unregenerate and unconverted. Many dissenters are awakened by these disorders, inclined or repairing to the Church as their only refuge [18].

Confirmed by the historian of Har-

A remarkable confirmation of the truth of these notices is furnished by Quincy,

[17] See p. 399, *ante*.

[18] Hawkins, 184.

the historian and President of Harvard University, who not only quotes, without any qualification, a passage from Secker's answer to Mayhew, in which he ascribes precisely the same effects to Whitefield's visit to New England, but distinctly admits, in his own narrative of the theological disputes which then prevailed, that 'many individuals, wearied with sectarian controversies, sought a quiet refuge from them in the Episcopal communion[19].' Harvard University.

The population of Boston, when Cutler first went there, exceeded 20,000; of whom he reckoned not more than a sixth or seventh part as members of the Church[20]. The only building in which its public services had been conducted before that time, was that of King's Chapel, of which, and of its earliest ministers, I have already given an account[21]. Myles, who was still its Rector when Cutler arrived, died about three years afterwards, greatly beloved by his people[22]. Harris, who had been, and still continued to be, for the brief sequel of his life, Assistant minister, was put forward by some of the congregation to be the successor of Myles. But the appointment was finally vested, in 1729, in Roger Price, who was strongly recommended by Bishop Gibson, and to whom he afterwards entrusted the office of Commissary. The Assistant of Price at King's Chapel was, first, Thomas Harward; and, upon his death, Addington Davenport, who had been Missionary in Scituate, and who continued to officiate at King's Chapel, until he was invited, in 1740, by the con- King's Chapel, Boston. Roger Price.

[19] Quincy's History, &c., ii. 72.
[20] Hawkins, 179.
[21] Vol. ii. 456, 457.
[22] Greenwood's History, &c., 86.

Trinity Church.

gregation of Trinity Church to become its Rector [23].

Trinity Church, which had been opened in 1735, was a second offshoot from King's Chapel. Christ Church, the scene of Cutler's ministry, had preceded it by twelve years. Its building had been chiefly promoted by the congregation of King's Chapel, on account of their own increasing numbers. The corner-stone had been laid by Myles, during Cutler's visit to England; and, a few weeks after his return to Boston, it was opened for divine service [24]. Three years afterwards, he reports that its congregation had increased from four to seven or eight hundred persons [25]. The influence of Cutler increased daily. His piety, zeal, and diligence, added to all his vast acquirements of learning, which were not surpassed by those of any man in America at that time, made themselves felt in all directions.

Christ Church, the scene of Cutler's ministry.

Failure of his claim to a share in the government of Harvard College.

There was, however, one body of men, the Board of Overseers of Harvard College, who distinguished themselves by refusing to admit him to any share in their counsels. Cutler, in conjunction with Myles, had claimed to be admitted among them, upon grounds which he believed to be just. The freedom from all rigorous and exclusive tests by which its Charters were distinguished [26], and which its historian dwells upon as worthy of all praise [27],—coupled with the fact that Harris, a former

[23] Ib. 87—100.

[24] Ib. 85, 86.

[25] Hawkins, 179.

[26] Vol. ii. 183.

[27] Speaking of them, he says, 'We expect to find, in these instruments, some "form of sound words," some "creed," some "catechism," some "medulla theologiæ," established as the standard of religious faith, to which every one, entering on an office of go-

Assistant of Myles, had attended as an Overseer several Meetings of the Board, and that Myles and Cutler had received notice to do the same,—might fairly have warranted the belief that the door to their admission was open. The voice of all the leading members of the Church in Boston, and the opinion of one of the most eminent lawyers of New England, concurred in testifying the justice of their claim. But it was rejected notwithstanding. And, after many discussions leading to the same result, Cutler desisted, in 1730, from the further prosecution of his claim.

It is remarkable that a complaint had been made, only a short time before, that Harvard College 'was under the tutelage of Latitudinarians;' and this charge was actually urged as a reason for supporting the rival institution in Connecticut[28]. Whatsoever grounds may have existed for the charge, it would be hard to discover them in the conduct of the Board in the present instance. The most resolute antagonist of latitudinarianism could not have wished for a more signal display of the opposite spirit than was here manifested.

vernment and instruction, shall be required to subscribe.—Yet, surprising as is the fact, there is not, in any of the Charters which form the Constitution of this College, one expression o which a mere sectarian spirit can seize to wrest it into a shackle for the human soul. The idea seems never to have entered the minds of its early founders, of laying conscience under bonds for good behaviour. It is impossible, even at this day, when the sun of free enquiry is thought to be at its zenith, to desire any terms more unexceptionable, or better adapted to ensure the enjoyment of equal privileges to any religious sect or party.' Quincy's History, &c., i. 45, 46. The above remarks are not easily reconciled with others which the same writer makes in his narrative of the rejection of Cutler's claim, i. 366—376. 560—574.

[28] Appendix to Quincy's History, &c., ii. 462.

Religious state of New England.

The dangers which soon afterwards beset Harvard College were far greater than any which the most extravagant alarmist could have anticipated from the admission of Cutler and his coadjutors to a share in its government. The corrupting influences, then prevalent in the New England Colonies, were felt in all their force within the precincts of the College. The following proclamation for a Fast, issued by the government of Connecticut in 1743, describes them:

'Neglect and contempt of the Gospel and its ministers, a prevailing and abounding spirit of error, disorder, unpeaceableness, pride, bitterness, uncharitableness, censoriousness, disobedience, calumniating and reviling of authority, divisions, contentions, separations and confusions in Churches, injustice, idleness, evil speaking, lasciviousness, and all other vices and impieties abounded.'

There is not 'any reason to believe,' says the historian of Harvard University, who quotes this passage, 'that the picture was greatly overcharged;' and he adds, 'circumstances placed the College, as it were, in the centre of the evil passions, which the whirlwind of historical controversy had raised [29].' The example and advice of Cutler, I believe, would have availed much towards the mitigation of these evils. But his abandonment of their ranks was a sin not to be forgiven by his former associates; and their remembrance of it made it impossible for him to bridge over the gulf which separated them.

Kindly feelings displayed towards Harvard College by the Church of England.

In reviewing the painful history of such strife, it is some consolation to meet with many evidences of kindly feeling, displayed by the Church of England, towards the College which had dealt thus harshly with

[29] Ib. ii. 47, 48.

her ministers. I have already called attention to the donation of books, which Bishop Berkeley proposed to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel should be sent to Harvard College, 'as a proper means to inform their judgment, and dispose them to think better of the Church[30].' This proposal was carried into effect; and other donations from Berkeley and the Society, from Bishop Sherlock, Dr. Hales, and Dr. Wilson, and others, were added to them. Again, when the College library had been destroyed by fire, 'generous donations' were received from Archbishop Secker and Drummond, Archbishop of York; and, from the two great Societies of our Church at that time, offerings were freely given both of books and money[31]. The historian of Harvard University gratefully acknowledges, that, upon this occasion, 'the Episcopalians, unmindful of the jealousies at that moment in active excitement against them in the province, and of the asperities to which they had been exposed, gave honourable evidence of their catholicism and charity[32].'

Fierce opposition to the Church of England in the New England Colonies.

The admission here made of a fierce opposition to the Church of England, raging against her in America, at the time when her most distinguished members were thus forward in works of charity, is signally illustrated in a letter to the Society, from Winslow, the successor of Johnson at Stratford, in 1763[33].

Never did a malignant spirit of opposition rage with greater vehemence than of late. The most indecent reflections upon the venerable Society, and the general constitution of the Church, the most gross and flagrant misrepresentation of the state of the Church

[30] See p. 371, *ante*.

[31] Quincy's History, ii. 481. 492, 493.

[32] Ib. ii. 115.

[33] Hawkins, 232, 233.

in these Colonies, and the most false and abusive personal invectives against the Clergy, have lately appeared in print among us; and all this at a time when there has been not the least particular cause to provoke such a temper. On the contrary, wherever the Church has been planted, the conduct of its members and ministers has been so prudent and charitable as, at least, to give no just occasion of offence. No cause has, in truth, excited all this virulence, but that the Church has every where grown and increased, and the prospect is continually enlarging of its still further and substantial increase; and its condition is such in the Colonies as that, since the glorious conclusion of the war and the happy establishment of peace, with such an accession of territory on this continent, the dissenters are from hence jealous the Church may meet with some further encouragement, and perhaps enjoy those essential parts of her worship and discipline which we have hitherto been destitute of; and they know not how to bear the thoughts of our having the same complete exercise of religion in our way as they have in theirs. They may really thank themselves for no small part of that growth of the Church at which they are now so enraged. Their continual disputes and endless divisions have driven serious and sensible persons to take refuge in our happy constitution.

Controversy between Mayhew and Apthorp.

The ablest and most active assailant of the Church of England, in the northern Colonies of America, Jonathan Mayhew, came forward in the same year. His powers as a controversialist had already spread confusion and dismay among many of his Congregationalist brethren in Massachusetts. Uniting, as it has been said of him, 'the fearlessness of a martyr to the zeal of a reformer,' he had not scrupled to denounce, as false and unscriptural, many of those doctrines of Calvin, in the defence of which they were prepared to die; and which, in their own day and amid their own people, had found a distinguished champion in Jonathan Edwards. The Clergy of Boston all branded Mayhew as a heretic; and tried, in vain, to prevent his ordination. The acrimony of their opposition increased his popularity

with other classes; and his learning, courage, wit, and eloquence, strengthened it. Thus, early inured to a life of conflict, the appetite of Mayhew for its excitement was strengthened by the food which nourished it, and his natural 'asperity' increased by collisions with which he had become familiar [34]. He had not far to seek for fresh objects of attack. The growing power of the Church of England in provinces which Nonconformists for more than a century had looked upon as their own, the introduction of many of their distinguished members into the ranks of her ministry, the zeal and prudence with which they, and other Missionaries of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, pursued their course, had already awakened within him jealousy and alarm; and when, to these influences, was added that of feelings which he largely shared,—the disaffection which the temporal policy of the Mother-country was then fast producing in her Colonies, and the belief that the Church was identified with the King and Parliament of England, not only in respect of its outward authority, but as sympathising with and supporting their obnoxious policy,—the jealousy and alarm of Mayhew were followed by quick resentment; and he hastened at once to the encounter. The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, its institution, designs, and operations, formed the primary objects of his attack; and Apthorp was his chief antagonist. Apthorp had been born in New England, and, having afterwards graduated at Jesus College, Cambridge, had returned two years before as a Missionary of the Society to his native country. His further review of Mayhew's remarks was the last work

[34] Quincy's History, &c., ii. 66—85.

with which the controversy was closed in 1765[35]; and, throughout the whole of it, Apthorp proved himself to be able as he was zealous[36]. He received valuable aid from Johnson, Chandler, Beach, and other writers in America; and, in England, a yet more important coadjutor appeared in the person of Archbishop Secker.

Archbishop Secker takes part it it.

The pamphlet of that prelate in answer to Mayhew was first published anonymously; but he soon acknowledged himself to be its author; and it now finds a place in the complete edition of his works. Mayhew himself even spoke in respectful terms of the fairness of reasoning and charity of spirit which the pamphlet displayed[37]; and there can be little doubt that it greatly helped to disabuse the public mind of the errors into which it had been betrayed respecting the real character of the position of the Church of England in America.

Mayhew was possessed with the belief that the Society had been established for no other purpose but that of usurping authority over the various Christian communities already settled in America; and that to the attainment of this end the exertions of its Missionaries, and the application of its monies, had been uniformly and mainly directed. Starting upon this assumption, it became an easy task to rail at the Society as an instrument which irritated the passions and fomented the divisions of British subjects in the Plan-

[35] Mayhew died in 1766.

[36] Upon Apthorp's return to England, he was appointed Vicar of Croydon, and afterwards Rector of St. Mary-le-Bow. He preached in Lincoln's Inn Chapel, 1782—1786, a very valuable course of Warburton Lectures. He became blind in his latter years, and retired to Cambridge, where he died, in 1816, aged 83.

[37] Mayhew's Remarks on an Anonymous Tract, &c. pp. 3. 85.

tations, instead of being, what it professed to be, a minister to proclaim "good tidings of great joy" to them, and to the heathen in whose lands they had found a settlement. But the assumption was altogether false. The Charter of the Society contained not any such avowal; and the manner in which its officers had discharged their trust clearly proved,—the foregoing pages supply the proof,—that no such purpose was, or ever had been, intended by them. In some of the Plantations, as Secker justly observed, the Church of England was confessedly the established Church. Throughout the rest, many congregations were to be found adhering to it; and their number was likely to increase. And, since all members of every Church were, according to their principles of liberty, entitled to every part of what they conceived to be its benefits, entire and complete, so far as consisted with the civil government, it followed that no blame could justly attach either to the Church of England, or to the Society which was her almoner and agent, for doing what they could to secure those benefits, in all their integrity, to her people, wheresoever they might be settled. And, as for the charge that she had carefully excluded from the Charter all reference to the instruction of the Indian or other heathen nations, in order that the work of proselytism among British subjects might be carried on without impediment in the Colonies, it was alike refuted by the terms of the Charter itself, and by the manner in which the operations under its authority had been conducted. The Charter had distinctly declared the purpose of its institution to be, not only that 'an orthodox clergy' might be settled among the 'loving subjects' of the British Crown in the Plantations, but also that 'such other provision

be made, as may be necessary for the Gospel in those parts.' Now, for what other persons 'in those parts' could such provision be necessary, but for the Indian or other heathen nations, among whom English Planters were settled [38]? It was clearly, therefore, the avowed purpose of the Church, and of the Society through which she acted, to proclaim the Gospel to the heathen in or near all her Colonies. The execution of this purpose was the symbol engraved upon the Society's official seal; its difficulties and requirements had been minutely described in the pages of its first Report; and the enquiry we have pursued has shown that no opportunity of promoting it was ever neglected.

The services of Henry Caner at Fairfield, and King's Chapel, Boston.

It was needful, when the gainsayer gave a false colouring to the acts of the Society, that their real form and character should be exhibited to the world; and this service was faithfully rendered in the publications connected with the Mayhew controversy. An answer yet more triumphant was furnished in the continued progress of its work, and the undeviating and stedfast patience with which, in spite of all attacks, they who defended the Society performed their duties. I have already alluded to one of them, Henry Caner, whose labours deserve a further notice. He was among the first-fruits of Johnson's ministry in Stratford and its neighbourhood. A graduate of Yale College in 1724, he followed soon afterwards the example of the distinguished men whose history has been already given, and entered into communion with the Church of England. He served as a Catechist

[38] I am surprised that the historian of Harvard University (i. 360) should have overlooked this point in his remarks upon the institution of the Society.

and Reader at Fairfield until 1727, when he went to England for ordination, and returned as Missionary of the Society to the same place[39]. He continued there twenty years, making "full proof of" his "ministry;" and establishing evidences of its success in every quarter. At the end of that period, when the Rectorship of King's Chapel, Boston, became vacant by the resignation of Price, Caner was chosen by a large majority to succeed him, and, through a further course of twenty-eight years, amply justified, by his unremitting devotion, the choice which had been made. His ability as a preacher was accompanied by great diligence and aptitude for business; and it was mainly owing to his exertions that the decayed wooden structure of King's Chapel was replaced, in 1753, by a more capacious and durable building of stone[40]. Upon the death of Cutler, in 1765, Caner preached his funeral sermon; and, upon the next anniversary of that event, preached from his own pulpit, in the capacity of Moderator, to the Clergy of Boston (then fourteen in number) and other members of the Church, at their first public Convention, held by the approval of the Bishop of London[41]. The benefits which might reasonably have been expected to attend such meetings were frustrated in a few years in Boston, as in every other part of America, by the unhappy disputes with England. To Caner himself, the result of such disputes was the rupture of all those ties which had so long bound him to an affectionate people. Having

[39] Chandler's Life of Johnson, 60, 61.

[40] Greenwood, 109—125. After the Revolution, the name of Stone Chapel was substituted for the former and legal title of King's Chapel, ib. 134.

[41] Hawkins, 234.

His conduct at the Revolution.

done nothing to provoke it, upon his own part, through intemperate or stubborn zeal, he met the event with calmness. He saw, on every side, the miseries and distress of his brother Clergy. From Marblehead, its minister, Mr. Weeks, had been compelled with his family to fly away. Serjeant had escaped from Cambridge, with his wife and children; his fine Church was turned into barracks by the American soldiers, and its beautiful organ broken to pieces. Wishall of Falmouth, had fled from his captors to Boston; but his family remained in the hands of the enemy. Winslow of Braintree, Thompson of Scituate, and Clark of Dedham, had not suffered actual violence, when Caner wrote home this report, June 2, 1775. But the threatenings which assailed them were soon exchanged for stern realities. Boston itself was, at this time, straitly besieged. Its inhabitants, if they tarried in the town, were exposed to famine; if in the country, to the sword. They fled, therefore, as they best could, to Halifax, Quebec, the West Indies, or England. Caner was determined to maintain his post as long as possible; and continued, with unabated zeal, to officiate among his few Parishioners that were left. The last burials, recorded by his hand in the register, were those of three soldiers of the 65th regiment. On the 10th of March, 1776, he was suddenly informed that the King's troops would immediately evacuate the town. And, taking with him the vestments and registers and plate belonging to the Church, and so much of his own books and furniture as he could gather amid the confusion and hurry of his departure, he embarked the same day, with his daughter and servant, for Halifax, where he and other refugees re-

ceived the greatest kindness from the excellent Missionary of the Society, who had been long established there, Dr. Breynton. Caner afterwards repaired to England, and was affectionately received by the Society as the father of the American Clergy. The vacant Mission of Bristol in Rhode Island was offered to him, and accepted; but his declining years made it impossible that he could persevere much longer in the discharge of active duties; and, returning to England in 1785, he died seven years afterwards, at Long Ashton, in Somersetshire, at the age of ninety-two[42].

His closing years.

The details of the subsequent history of King's Chapel come not within the limits of the present work. But the fact may here be recorded, that, from the day of Caner's forced departure, it ceased to be a place of worship for members of the Church of England. In the autumn of 1777, its doors were opened to admit the Congregationalists, who retained possession of it for five years. As soon as they left, a remnant of the former proprietors invited Mr. James Freeman to officiate as reader for six months, and in April, 1783, chose him for their Pastor. They still called themselves Episcopalians, and (it is said) 'desired to remain in connexion, if possible, with the American Episcopal Church[43].' But it was a Church and Episcopacy only of their own contrivance. The doctrines of the Bible, to which the faithful in all ages had borne witness, and which the Church in her Creeds and other public services proclaimed, were thrust

Notice of the subsequent condition of King's Chapel.

[42] Hawkins, 245—247. 371. Greenwood, 132, 133. Allen's Amer. Biog. Dictionary, *in loc.*

[43] Greenwood, 140.

aside, and those alone received, which Freeman thought fit to approve, and which his congregation, by a majority of twenty votes to seven, ratified [44]. A denial of the doctrine of the ever-blessed Trinity was the chief characteristic of these self-elected arbiters of truth; and all the other expressions of Christian doctrine were made to correspond to the terms of this denial.

The strangest event in the history of these changes was an application, on the part of their promoters, to Bishop Provoost of New York, July 29, 1787, enquiring whether ordination could be obtained for Freeman, on terms agreeable to him and to the proprietors [45]. The Bishop answered the application by saying that it should be reserved for the consideration of the General Convention, at its first meeting [46]. The congregation, probably convinced that the Convention could only answer it by declaring the utter impossibility of complying with the prayer, waited not for a formal reply, but carried on the business to the end, as they had from the beginning, according to their sovereign will; and ordained Freeman, by a process of their own device, not, indeed, without an earnest, though ineffectual, protest upon the part of some of the original proprietors.

The narrator of these proceedings describes the first occupation of King's Chapel, in 1777, by the

[44] Ib. 136. 138. The appetite for change does not seem to have been satisfied by this proceeding. In 1811, the mutilated Liturgy received other (so-called) amendments; and, in 1828, a third edition was published, with further alterations and additions. A fourth appeared in 1831, but that only seems to have contained certain additional prayers and hymns for private use. Ib. 139.

[45] Ib. 140. 180—182.

[46] Ib. 141. 183—195.

Congregationalists, as an event 'very contrary to all the anticipations of Dr. Caner[47].' He might have added, that its subsequent transfer to the hands of (so-called) Unitarians, and the unceremonious speed with which they scattered to the winds its records of long-cherished truth and piety, were events which Caner was still less prepared to anticipate. But, howsoever his spirit may have been grieved at such tidings, Caner had seen and suffered enough, in the course of his eventful life, not to be surprised at any result which the changeful counsels of man may bring about. A feeling too of thankfulness, we may believe, he shared, amid all his trials and sorrows,—a feeling, which certainly now fills the heart of him who attempts to record them,—that, let these changeful counsels have been what they might, the precious deposit and trust, committed to the keeping of the Church of England, remained unchanged; and that, through days of declension as well as of progress, she held, and still holds, it fast in its integrity. The 'Pilgrim Fathers' forsook her guidance, because the policy of worldly rulers had insanely joined with it instruments of temporal oppression; and, destroying her discipline, set up the Presbyterian platform of the Swiss Reformer. But lo! a century and a half pass not away, before, by a process,—the same in kind with that which has since been renewed with such fatal power in the schools and pulpits of Geneva itself,—the teaching of Socinus usurped in New England the authority of Calvin.

Services of John Beach.

Many other devoted men were associated with Henry Caner, whose labours

[47] Ib. 133.

deserve to be noted. Foremost among these was John Beach, who had been distinguished among the students of Yale College for his extraordinary learning, and afterwards for his zeal and piety as a Congregationalist minister at Newtown. The periodical visits of Johnson to that place renewed the acquaintance, already formed at Yale College, between him and Beach, and led to a frequent and full discussion of the various points of difference hitherto supposed to exist between them. Beach made these the constant subjects of enquiry, reflection, and prayer; and, in 1732, declared his readiness to be admitted into the orders of the Church of England. This declaration was followed by the display of greater bitterness and violence among his Congregationalist neighbours than had been witnessed in any of the former instances of defection from their ranks. After his return from England, the same year, as the ordained Missionary at Newtown, they opposed him with increased rancour; and succeeded in stirring up against him a tribe of Indians, who lived three miles distant, and to whom Beach had been especially instructed by the Society to extend his ministrations. But Beach was not to be moved away from his course. He pressed on with resolute and cheerful spirit; conciliating many of the Indians, and gathering around him larger congregations of his countrymen. In one of his letters to the Society, he compares them to the house of David, waxing "stronger and stronger." New Churches were built at Reading and Newtown; and the number of communicants in proportion to that of worshippers was greater than oftentimes is seen in our own favoured land; and his hearers, with very few exceptions, adorned their profession by a

'sober, righteous, and godly life.' The penal laws of Connecticut were enforced with the utmost rigour, for the purpose of checking this growth of feeling in favour of the Church. And Beach, writing home in 1743, thus describes the effect of this severity:

'The case of this people is very hard. If on the Lord's Day they continue at home, they must be punished; if they meet to worship God according to the Church of England, in the best manner, the mulct is still greater; and, if they go to the Independent Meeting in the town where they live, they must endure the mortification of hearing the doctrines and worship of the Church vilified, and the important truths of Christianity obscured and enervated by enthusiastic and antinomian dreams.'

In spite of every difficulty, Beach made continual progress; and the members of the Church of England within his district increased twentyfold. His labours were unremitting. Besides his missions at Newtown and Reading, the latter of which extended twenty miles in length, and twelve in breadth, he visited, at stated periods, three small congregations at New Milford and New Fairfield, distant between eighteen and twenty-five miles from his dwelling; and, not unfrequently, was invited to visit families at sixty miles' distance. Every summons of duty was obeyed by him promptly and cheerfully, although his bodily infirmities were such as not to allow him one day's ease or respite from pain. All seasons and weather were alike to him. Amid storms and snow-drifts, across forests and rushing torrents, he still found his way; and so certain were his people of meeting their Pastor at the appointed time and place of worship, that they could not, for very shame, make the inclement weather an excuse for their own absence. Throughout forty years, he only failed two Sundays to attend; and

then sickness had laid him prostrate. Upon the death of Honyman, in 1752, Beach might have been his successor at Newport, in Rhode Island; but, notwithstanding all the temporal advantages attending it, he declined the offer, and preferred to dwell among his own people. Eight years afterwards, he preached before his brother Clergy, at their Convention at New Haven, a Sermon which needed not their commendation and the especial eulogy of Johnson to attest its value; and, at the expiration of five years more, we find him, in the midst of his daily pastoral toil, standing forward as the firm and triumphant opponent of the many religious extravagances, which then prevailed in many parts of New England.

'Though my health (he says) is small, and my abilities less, and though I make it a rule never to enter into any dispute with them unless they begin, yet now they have made the assault, and advanced such monstrous errors as do subvert the Gospel, I think myself obliged, by my ordination vow, to guard my people (as well as I can) against such doctrines, in which work hitherto I hope I have had some success.'

His conduct at the Revolution.

When the political troubles of that day reached their height, they failed to drive Beach from his post, or to make him deviate, in the smallest degree, from his accustomed path of duty. Every Church in Connecticut but his was shut up. So likewise was every Church in New Jersey; and, in New York and Pennsylvania, those only remained open, in which the presence of the King's troops afforded protection, or in which the prayers for the King and Royal family were omitted. But Beach remained unchanged, amid all the phases of the conflict that raged around him. Congress gained the ascendancy. The Declaration of Inde-

pendence released the States from all allegiance to the British Crown; and Beach was warned of the danger ready to fall upon him, if he refused to obey the decree that had gone forth. His only reply was, 'That he would do his duty, and preach and pray for the King, till the rebels cut out his tongue.' He made good his words. His determination was stronger than even the violence of the adversary. And, five years afterwards, Oct. 31, 1781, writing to the Society, for the last time, still from Newtown, he was enabled thus to speak of past troubles and of present duties:

'Newtown, and the Church of England part of Reading, are (I believe) the only parts of New England that have refused to comply with the doings of the Congress, and for that reason have been the butt of general hatred; but God has delivered us from entire destruction.

'I am now in the eighty-second year of my age, yet do constantly, alternately, perform service and preach at Newtown and Reading. I have been sixty years a public preacher, and, after conviction, in the Church of England fifty years; but had I been sensible of my insufficiency, I should not have undertaken it. But I now rejoice in that I think I have done more good towards men's eternal happiness than I should have done in any other calling.'

Six months after Beach wrote these lines, he "finished" his earthly "course;" and the sorrowful conviction was left with many a faithful member of the Church at home and abroad, that a 'great and good [48]' man had indeed departed from among them.

A brother of the above devoted servant of God, a

[48] In these words the Rev. Bela Hubbard described the character of Beach, when he announced his death to the Society. Hawkins, 215. See also Chandler's Life of Johnson, 61; Hawkins, 202—214. 233; Bp. Wilberforce's History, &c. 116—124; Allen's Amer. Biog. Dict. *in loc.*

man possessing much influence and property in Stratford, avowed his conformity to the Church of England about the same time the latter entered upon his duties at Newtown. The like course was pursued by many others; of whom one demands especial notice in this place, not only for the career of usefulness pursued by himself, during thirty years, as a Missionary of the Church in New England, but also for the yet more distinguished career of his son,—I mean Samuel Seabury, father of the first Bishop of Connecticut[49]. He had formerly been the Congregationalist minister at Groton, and, in 1730, was appointed the Society's Missionary at New London. The success which attended his labours in that place led to his appointment to the more important sphere of duty at Hempstead, in Long Island, when Dr. Jenney was removed thence to Philadelphia in 1742. The like success waited upon him there; and at Hempstead, Oyster-bay, and Huntingdon, congregations increasing in numbers, and continuing for the most part stedfast amid the wild outbreak of religious enthusiasm, then caused by many of Whitefield's followers, bore witness to its enduring character. At Huntingdon, he availed himself of the services of his son, who had graduated at Yale College. He saw, not with a father's partiality, but with the discriminating eye of an experienced judge, the ardent piety, the devoted courage, the untiring energy, displayed by the young man; and, knowing that the recommendation of the Commissary was ready to confirm his own, he requested the Society to appoint his son a Catechist. The request was complied with;

The Rev. Samuel Seabury.

[49] Chandler's Life of Johnson, 61.

and he who was afterwards consecrated to the office of chief Pastor of the flock of Christ in the great continent of America, began thus the public duties of his first humble office within its fold upon a salary of £10 a year. The elder Seabury was gathered to his rest, June 15, 1764[50].

Services of other Missionaries, who had formerly been Nonconformists.

The list of adherents to the ranks of the ministry of the Church of England from those of the Congregationalists is not yet exhausted. In 1743, Johnson reports that Prince, a Fellow of Harvard College, was ready to go to England in the ensuing spring for ordination; and that a dissenting teacher in the neighbourhood of Stratford was prepared to do the same, and would probably bring the greatest part of his congregation into communion with the Church. Again, in 1746, he enumerates the names of Allen, Lloyd, Sturgeon, Chandler, Diblee, Mansfield, and Leaming, as anxious to be engaged in her ministry[51]. How valuable the services of Chandler and Sturgeon proved, I have shown elsewhere[52]. The reputation of Leaming was proved by his appointment, twenty-six years afterwards (1772), to preach the Funeral Sermon over the grave of that affectionate father in Christ, who had thus commended him to the Church of England[53]; and yet more by his being chosen, in the first instance, by the Convention of the Clergy in Connecticut, in 1783, as worthy to be consecrated the first Bishop of that Diocese. His field of ministerial duty had been first at Newport, and afterwards at Norwalk, where he was ever faithful and

Leaming.

[50] Chandler's Life of Johnson, 62; Hawkins, 294—297.

[51] Hawkins, 193, 194.

[52] See pp. 245. 272, *ante*.

[53] Hawkins, 199.

vigilant. When the Revolutionary war broke out, its effects were felt by Leaming more severely than by most of his brethren. He had not only to bear the insults of the populace, who tore his picture from the walls of his house, and mutilated it, and nailed it, with the head downward, to a sign-post; but the operations of the British forces under General Tryon, in 1779, laid his Church and great part of his Parish in ashes, and destroyed every article of personal property that he possessed. His loss that fatal day was not less than twelve or thirteen hundred pounds sterling. Yet gave he expression to no other feelings but those of thankfulness that his life was spared. His troubles were not even then over. The crime of being a Tory was reason enough to cast him into prison, where he had nothing but the floor to lie upon; and when, at length, the order of release arrived, it found him labouring under a malady, brought on by the hardships he had suffered, which crippled him for life. His infirmities and advancing years were pleaded by him as reasons for declining the Episcopal office to which his brethren had called him, and which thereupon devolved on Seabury.

Mansfield.

Of Mansfield, another of the same devoted band, the testimony has been recorded by Dr. Jarvis of Middletown[54], that he was 'one of the holiest and most guileless of men.' Having remembered the time when there were but three professing members of the Church of England in Newhaven, of whom two were of doubtful character, and when the bitterness of Puritan hatred against her was

[54] Author of a Chronological Introduction to the History of the Church, and son of the second Bp. of Connecticut.

so intense, that, even his own sister, upon hearing that he had sailed for England to receive ordination from her Bishops, prayed that he might be lost at sea[55]; Mansfield yet lived to see that same Church acknowledged, even by those who had been her adversaries, as a powerful and honoured instrument in the work of winning souls to Christ. His own consistent course of active ministerial duty, pursued without intermission for twenty-seven years at Derby, in Connecticut, was doubtless among not the least important causes which effected this change. But the humility of Mansfield marked every word and act of his; and none could put so low an estimate upon his labours as himself. He possessed, in a high degree, the confidence of the Society; and among its records is an interesting letter from him, Sept. 25, 1768, in which he relates the progress of a long journey, undertaken by him to seven or eight different towns in the provinces of New York and Massachusetts Bay, for the purpose of ascertaining and reporting where new Missions might be established. At all these places, some of which were 100 miles distant from his own mission, Mansfield found hearts eager to welcome him. But the war soon changed the aspect of things, and the 'Committee of Inquiry,' believing him to be in correspondence with the British authorities, issued orders for his arrest; and his friends prevailed upon him to seek his only safety in immediate flight[56].

Diblee.

The station assigned to Diblee, after his ordination, was Stamford, in Connecticut; and the manner in which he discharged his duties

[55] Quoted by Hawkins, 234, upon the authority of Dr. Jarvis.
[56] Hawkins, 235, 236. 253, 254.

there may best be learnt from the testimony of St. George Talbot, whose devotion on behalf of the Church I have before mentioned[57]; and who, after a tour made with Diblee in 1762, reports his 'services' as 'universally acceptable, and his life agreeable to his public character.' In his case also, as in almost every other, the onset of the war brought terror and confusion with it, and seemed for a time to make void the benefit of all former services, howsoever long and faithfully performed[58].

The benefit of these services greatly obstructed by proceedings in England.

In like manner, if it were needful, or the limits of this work allowed it, I might go on to show, by further evidences, the wonderful extent to which reverence and affection were revived, during the last century, in the hearts of the men of Connecticut towards the Church which their fathers had forsaken. Enough, however, has been said to establish the certainty of the fact, and to lead us gratefully to acknowledge the benefits which flowed from it. A feeling of regret, indeed, accompanies this expression of our gratitude, when we consider, that, whilst these men gave themselves thus heartily to their work, and sent home with reiterated urgency their prayers for that help which the presence of a faithful Bishop could alone secure to them, our spiritual rulers were denied the power of granting it. I have already adverted to the terms in which Chandler gave utterance to this prayer[59]. And if I have forborne to cite similar applications from Cutler, Johnson, Caner, Beach, and others, of whom I have since spoken, it has only been that I might

[57] See p. 314, *ante*. [58] Hawkins, 292. 307.
[59] See p. 247, *ante*.

spare the reader the weariness and vexation of spirit which I have myself experienced, in reviewing, again and again, the same records of fruitless entreaty, of repeated and unavailing remonstrance. There was not one of these men who did not renew the like earnest prayer, and urge its justice by conclusive argument; but all were doomed to disappointment. The explanation of this humiliating fact has been in part given already; and the present chapter throws further light upon it. Not only did the same causes still operate among many of the Clergy at home, which, in an earlier part of the century, had led our Statesmen to view their conduct with jealousy and suspicion; but the policy of those Statesmen had since provoked in the American Colonies still stronger jealousy and suspicion against themselves, and against the Church and Throne of England with which that policy was identified. In addition to the evidences already brought forward, the following communications between our Bishops at home and some of those Clergymen in Connecticut, of whom I have lately spoken, will be found signally to illustrate the fatal effects of such policy.

Causes thereof.

Further shown in the Letters of Sherlock and Secker.

Bishop Sherlock, for instance, writes thus to Johnson, Sept. 19, 1750:

'I have been soliciting the establishment of one or two Bishops to reside in proper parts of the Plantations, and to have the conduct and direction of the whole. I am sensible for myself that I am capable of doing but very little service to those distant Churches, and I am persuaded that no Bishop residing in England, ought to have, or willingly to undertake, this province. As soon as I came to the See of London, I presented a memorial to the King upon this subject; which was referred to his principal Officers of State to be considered. But so many difficulties were started, that no report

was made to His Majesty. After this, I presented a petition to the King in Council of like purport. His Majesty's journey to Hanover left no room to take a resolution upon an affair that deserves to be maturely weighed. This lies before the King in Council, and will, I hope, be called for when His Majesty returns to England.'

The letter concludes with an allusion to the supposed defects of the Patent under which Bishops' Commissaries were appointed, and which had already thrown difficulties in the way of Bishop Gibson [60].

In the answer returned to the above letter by Johnson, March 26, 1751, he encloses a paper signed by five of the Boston Clergy, among whom were Cutler and Caner, which fully states and answers objections that had been urged in New England against the appointment of Bishops in America. It was feared (said the opponents of the measure) lest such Bishops should exercise a coercive power, adverse to the people and their governors; and that their maintenance would be a burden upon the people, and inconsistent with the form of government which, in New England, was in the hands of the Independents. In reply to which it was declared, that no coercive power was desired over the Laity in any case, nor any share of temporal government; that all the authority sought for was only such as was necessary for the controul of the Clergy, and for the full enjoyment of all the ordinances of the Church by those who were her members; that the Colonies were not to be charged with the maintenance of a Bishop; and that there was no intention of settling them in provinces whose government was in the hands of Nonconformists, but only that they

[60] See p. 187, *ante*.

should have the power of superintending all congregations of their own communion within such provinces.

The answers to proposals so reasonable were these. Sherlock writes, April 21, 1752:

'The observations you communicated to me, with relation to the settlement of Episcopacy amongst you, are very just, and worthy of consideration; but I am afraid that others, who have more power and influence, do not see the thing in the light that we do, and I have but little hopes of succeeding at present.

'I think myself, at present, in a very bad situation: Bishop of a vast country, without power, or influence, or any means of promoting true religion; sequestered from the people over whom I have the care, and must never hope to see. I should be tempted to throw off all this care quite, were it not for the sake of preserving even the appearance of an Episcopal Church in the Plantations.'

Johnson received in the same year another letter from Secker, then Bishop of Oxford, who writes:

'Concerning the important scheme of establishing Bishops abroad, I can, at present, give no encouraging prospect. We must endeavour again, when we see opportunity; and pray always that He, Who hath put the times and seasons in His own power, would, in the time that He sees proper, revive that, and every part of His work amongst us.'

Secker again writes, two years afterwards (1754), in the like strain:

'We have done all we can here in vain, and must wait for more favourable times; which I think it will contribute not a little to bring on, if the ministers of our Church in America, by friendly converse with the principal Dissenters, can satisfy them that nothing more is intended or desired, than that our Church may enjoy the full benefit of its own institutions, as all theirs do. *For so long as they are uneasy and remonstrate, regard will be paid to them and their friends here by our Ministers of State.* And yet it will be a hard matter for you to prevent their being uneasy, while they find you gaining ground upon them. That so much money of the Society was employed in supporting Episcopal congregations amongst

them, was industriously made an argument against the late collection. And though, God be thanked, the collection hath notwithstanding proved a very good one, yet, unless we be cautious on that head, we shall have further clamour; and one knows not what the effect of it may be.'

Upon the elevation of Secker, in 1758, to the Metropolitan See, his correspondence is still of the same character. A letter from him to Johnson, May 22, 1764, contains the following passage:

'The affair of American Bishops continues in suspense, Lord Willoughby of Parham, the only English dissenting peer, and Dr. Chandler, have declared, after our scheme was fully laid before them, that they saw no objection against it. The Duke of Bedford, Lord President, hath given a calm and favourable hearing to it, hath desired it may be reduced to writing, and promised to consult about it with the other ministers at his first leisure. Indeed, I see not how Protestant Bishops can decently be refused us, as in all probability a Popish one will be allowed, by connivance at least, in Canada. What relates to Bishops, must be managed in a quiet, private manner. Were solicitors to be sent over prematurely from America for Bishops, there would also come solicitors against them; a flame would be raised, and we should never carry our point. Whenever an application from thence is really wanted, and become seasonable, be assured that you will have immediate notice.'

Again, in 1766, the Archbishop writes,—

'I am grieved that I cannot answer your letter to my satisfaction or yours. *It is very probable that a Bishop or Bishops would have been quietly received in America before the Stamp Act was passed here. But it is certain that we could get no permission here to send one.* Earnest and continual endeavours have been used with our successive Ministers and Ministries, but without obtaining more than promises to consider and confer about the matter; which promises have never been fulfilled. The King hath expressed himself repeatedly in favour of the scheme; and hath proposed, that, if objections are imagined to lie against other places, a Protestant Bishop should be sent at least to Quebec, where there is a Popish one, and where there are few Dissenters to take offence. And, in

the latter end of Mr. Grenville's ministry, a plan of an ecclesiastical establishment for Canada was formed, on which a Bishop might easily have been grafted, and was laid before a Committee of Council. But opinions differed there, and proper persons could not be persuaded to attend; and, in a while, the ministry changed. Incessant application was made to the new ministry; some slight hopes were given, but no one step taken. Yesterday the ministry was changed again, as you may see in the papers; but, whether any change will happen in our concern, and whether for the better or the worse, I cannot so much as guess. Of late, indeed, it hath not been prudent to do any thing, unless at Quebec; and therefore the address from the clergy of Connecticut, which arrived here in December last, and that from the clergy of New York and New Jersey, which arrived in January, have not been presented to the King. But he hath been acquainted with the purport of them, and directed them to be postponed to a fitter time[61].'

Similar communications were received by Johnson and Chandler from Bishops Terrick and Lowth[62], who occupied in succession the See of London, from the year 1764 to the year 1787; but, as they contain not any new matter, I refrain from quoting them.

The great value of Secker's counsels.

It is impossible, however, to leave these references to the letters of our Bishops in England to the Clergy in America, without acknowledging the great value which pre-eminently attaches to those of Archbishop Secker. The volumes which contain them are among the most precious treasures to be found this day among the manuscripts of Lambeth Library; and I only regret, that, from want of space, I am prevented from placing before the reader even an abstract of the notes which I have been permitted to take from them. They spread over a much longer period of time than that

[61] Chandler's Life of Johnson (Appendix), 165. 168—171. 174. 176, 177. 197. 199, 200.

[62] Ib. 201—209.

embraced in the published correspondence between Secker and Johnson; one of the most valuable of them, being written by Secker to Johnson, from St. James's, Westminster, March 8, 1745-6, and giving an historical summary of the various evils which had been inflicted upon the Church in America from the absence of her Bishops. His letters upon all subjects connected with the Church over which he was allowed to exercise so blessed an influence, breathe throughout the purest charity and "meekness of wisdom;" and in none, perhaps, are these qualities more conspicuous, than in a letter written, whilst he was Bishop of Oxford, from Cuddesden, Sept. 17, 1741, to Whitefield, in answer to some sharp strictures which the latter had addressed to him, a few months before, as he was sailing to Scotland, upon Secker's recent Anniversary Sermon before the Society. The subject-matter of some of Whitefield's remarks, and the spirit which pervaded them all, strongly resembled those which afterwards characterised the assailants in the Mayhew controversy; and the patience and calmness and clear reasoning with which Secker answered every objection, were but an anticipation of the more deliberate defence which he made so successfully against Mayhew.

Conduct of some of our Statesmen.

In addition to all the causes which I have enumerated, as frustrating the strenuous and repeated efforts of men on both sides of the Atlantic to extend the Episcopate to our Colonies, there was one, which I have not yet touched upon, which doubtless had a large share in bringing about this result,—I mean the spirit of indifference to the real character and duties of the Church, so unhappily manifested by some of the leading Statesmen

of that day. At all times, indeed, and in the hearts of all men, the ascendancy of the present objects of time and sense over the unseen realities of the future begets this indifference; and the selfishness of our nature strengthens it. And, amid the hurtful influences of the 18th century, the evil could hardly fail to be increased. The easy composure, for instance, with which Sir Robert Walpole told Bishop Gibson, that it was useless for Berkeley to remain any longer in America upon the faith of the payment of a grant which England had solemnly promised [63], betrays a condition of mind little observant of the strict rule of Christian morals, and one which, I believe, could not be manifested by any Statesman of our own day. It has been alleged, indeed, as an excuse for Walpole, in another matter,—namely, the acknowledged system of corruption by which he governed,—that 'no man ought to be severely censured for not being beyond his age in virtue [64].' I stop not now to consider the validity of this excuse; still less do I desire to cast severe censure upon any man. But it is clear, that the ground upon which the critic, in the present instance, rests his plea, bears out all that I have just advanced. The temptations of the age in which Walpole lived facilitated the commission of a national crime to which he was the chief consenting party.

Sir Robert Walpole.

Chalmers, indeed, has said [65], that the fear of offending Dissenters at home, and of inclining the Colonies to independency, induced Walpole to divert the aid

[63] See p. 366, *ante*.

[64] See Macaulay's notice of Walpole's character. Essays, &c., 271, ed. 1850.

[65] Biog. Dict. (Art. *Berkeley*.)

once promised to Berkeley. I cannot find authority for this statement; and, even if it be well founded, it offers no sufficient explanation of Walpole's conduct. The independency of the Colonies, indeed, was achieved not many years afterwards. But he must be entirely ignorant of the causes which led to that event, who supposes that the encouragement of the Colonial Church by the State at home was one of them. The very opposite conclusion to this is the true one. The American Colonies were lost to England, not less through her neglect of them in matters spiritual, than her oppressive treatment of them in matters temporal.

Duke of Newcastle.

In tracing the course of this neglect, it is impossible not to feel that a large portion of it may be ascribed to the strange influence exercised by the Duke of Newcastle in the English Cabinet. He was, for nearly thirty years, one of the two Secretaries of State, and, for nearly ten years, Prime Minister. And yet, so unmethodical were his habits, and such utter incapacity did he betray for the ordinary routine of public business, that, were it not for the conclusive evidence which attests the fact, we should deem it incredible that a man, entrusted with such vast power, and for so long a time, should have been so unfit for the trust. Horace Walpole, for instance, in his Memoirs of George II.[66], ascribes the facilities afforded to the enterprises of France, at the beginning of the war which broke out between her and England, in 1754, to the ignorance in which the English Court had been kept with respect to the affairs of America. This ignorance he ascribes further

[66] i. 396, 2nd ed.

to the fact, that the Colonial department had been subject to the Secretary of State for the Southern Province [67], assisted by the Board of Trade; that, during Sir Robert Walpole's administration, it had lapsed almost into a sinecure; and that, throughout the whole of that period, the Duke of Newcastle had been the Secretary answerable for its right conduct.

His careless administration of the British Colonies.

'It would not be credited (he says) what reams of paper, representations, petitions, from that quarter of the world, lay mouldering and unopened in his office. West Indian governors could not come within the sphere of his jealousy; nothing else merited or could fix his mercurial inattention. He knew as little of the geography of his province as of the state of it. When General Ligonier hinted some defence to him for Annapolis, he replied, with his evasive hurry, "Annapolis! Annapolis! O! yes, Annapolis must be defended; to be sure, Annapolis should be defended,—where is Annapolis?"'

Macaulay, who repeats this anecdote, relates another equally illustrative of the Duke's sagacity and geographical knowledge:

'Cape Breton an island! wonderful! show it me in the map. So it is, sure enough. My dear sir, you always bring us good news. I must go and tell the King that Cape Breton is an island [68].'

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[67] The two Secretaries of State at this time were for the Northern and Southern Province; the former, including the Low Countries, Germany, Denmark, Sweden, Poland, Russia, &c.; and the Southern, including France, Switzerland, Italy, Spain. Portugal, and Turkey. The affairs of Ireland and *the Colonies devolved upon the elder of these two Secretaries.* In 1768, a third Secretary was expressly appointed for the American or Colonial department; but this office was abolished in 1782, at which time also the terms 'Northern' and 'Southern' were discontinued, and the duties divided into 'Home' and 'Foreign.' Haydn's Book of Dignities, p. 170.

[68] Macaulay's Essays, &c. 280.

It seems hardly possible that ignorance so ludicrous and helpless should have been the lot of any man. Yet the stories are well authenticated; and their general acceptance attests their probability. The blameless private character of Newcastle, his princely fortune, his generous spirit, his political influence as leader of the Whigs, his devotion to the house of Brunswick, and, above all, his insatiable thirst for power, may account, in some degree, for the prominent part he bore in the administration of this country. But, allowing to these causes all their importance, the fact of his continuance in high office, through so many years, is an enigma which remains to be solved [69].

Their great importance an aggravation of his misconduct.

The Colonies, entrusted to his keeping, through so long and critical a period of their history, were the mightiest, let it be remembered, which ever sprang from any empire upon earth. 'Children,' said Edmund Burke, in words which will be remembered until the English tongue shall cease, 'Children do not grow faster from infancy to manhood, than they spread from families to communities, and from villages to nations.' He that would describe their commerce would find that 'fiction' lagged 'after truth;' that 'invention' was 'unfruitful, and imagination cold and barren.' At one time, we may look for this adventurous people 'among the tumbling mountains of ice,' or 'penetrating into the deepest frozen recesses of Hudson's Bay;' and, soon again, 'we hear that they have pierced into the opposite region of polar cold, that they are at the

[69] Macaulay's Essays, &c. *ut sup.*; Coxe's Life of Sir R. Walpole, i. 327. It is only fair to add that Professor Smythe speaks of the political course of Newcastle in respectful terms. Lectures on Modern History, ii. 293.

antipodes, and engaged under the frozen serpent of the south.' 'The equinoctial heat' was 'not more discouraging to them than the accumulated winter of both the poles.' 'Some of them' drew 'the line and' struck 'the harpoon on the coast of Africa; others' ran 'the longitude, and' pursued 'their gigantic game along the coast of Brazil. No sea but what' was 'vexed by their fisheries. No climate that' was 'not witness to their toils.' And all this, the spirit and the work of a 'recent people; a people still, as it were, but in the gristle, and not yet hardened into the bone of manhood [79].'

Yet was there found an English minister, who "cared for none of those things;" who had neither eyes to see, nor heart to feel, nor mind to comprehend, the working of such wondrous energies. His countrymen might spread across lake and mountain, around gulf and headland, along river and sea-board; affixing to every spot the names of places well known and dear to them, in the land which they had left; or recognising those that were already identified with the enterprises of other nations of Europe. But why should he concern himself with their acts? Three thousand miles of ocean rolled between him and them. Three months or more, and sometimes twice that period, must be consumed, in receiving an answer to tidings sent from one side of that vast ocean to the other. Why, then, should the busy interests of each passing day and hour at home be interrupted by the affairs of

[79] Burke's Speech on Conciliation with America, 1775. Works, iii. 36. 43—46. There is a passage in Professor Smythe's Lectures on Modern History, ii. 359, descriptive of the greatness of America, which, for its vigorous eloquence, may justly bear comparison with the above well-known passage of Burke.

a world so remote? He could not indeed close his office doors against the missives which arrived thence. They were gathered upon his table in heaps. But there let them lie. No hand of his should break the seals, or unfold the wearisome catalogue of favours to be granted and of wrongs to be redressed. What grievous and complicated distress would not even a month of such proud negligence create! Yet that distress must be multiplied more than three hundredfold, ere it can reach the frightful aggregate of ills produced by the Duke of Newcastle's misrule of our Colonies for nearly thirty years. Can we wonder, that when the blast of war blew in the ears of such a man, it should have filled him, and the nation which trusted in him, with confusion; and that, in the attempt to employ, against an active and daring enemy, the resources of a people of whom he knew but little, in countries of which he knew still less, he should have been utterly bewildered and lost?

If such were the unworthy treatment of our Colonies with regard to matters of immediate urgency, it will be readily understood, that, with regard to other interests,—of higher importance, indeed, than any which war or commerce bring with them, but not equally attractive to the eye of sense, they would have to encounter neglect still greater. The minister, who was slow to provide means of temporal defence, could hardly be expected to care much for the supply of spiritual help. If the General found it difficult to make him understand the quarter to which military succour should be sent, what hope was there that the representations of a Bishop should be listened to, who spoke of the need of Clergymen, of Schools, of Churches, as instruments to extend, throughout regions known

hardly to him by name, the "godliness," which is not less "profitable for the life that now is" than "for that which is to come?" Gibson might seek for powers to define more accurately the Commission by which he and his predecessors in the See of London were authorised to superintend the Colonial Churches, and the terms of which, in his judgment, were wanting in the clearness which was necessary to make the superintendence effectual. Sherlock might present to the King his earnest memorial that Bishops might forthwith be sent out to the Plantations, and receive for answer that it was referred to the Officers of State. Secker might exert towards the same end all the influence which he had so justly gained whilst he was Rector of St. James's, and, afterwards, whilst Dean of St. Paul's and Bishop of Oxford. He might renew it with increased zeal, through all the ten years in which he was Primate. But the mass of inert resistance, presented in the office of Secretary of State responsible for the Colonies, was too great to be overcome. The utmost which the repeated exertions of all these men could obtain was promise after promise that ministers would 'consider and confer about the matter;' 'which promises (adds Secker) have never been fulfilled[71].'

The Earl of Halifax.

There was one, however, among the Statesmen of that day, whose conduct in these matters was widely different from that displayed

[71] The period during which Gibson and Sherlock occupied the See of London was from 1723 to 1761, comprising exactly the years in which Newcastle was first Secretary of State, and afterwards Prime Minister. Secker was contemporary with both; having been Bishop of Bristol in 1734; whence he was translated to Oxford in 1737, and to Canterbury in 1758.

by most others. I allude to George, last Earl of Halifax, who filled the office of President of the Council of Foreign Plantations from 1748 to 1760, at which date he was appointed Viceroy of Ireland. Secker speaks of Halifax in one of his last letters to Johnson, as being 'very earnest for Bishops in America[72],' and heartily supporting his own exertions towards their appointment. But the obstacles which I have described above were still existing, and strong enough to frustrate even the efforts of one whose official position might have given hopes of success. And, before Halifax was able to resume a yet higher post in England, that fatal measure, the Stamp Act, had passed, which, according to the admission of Secker himself, made the further prosecution of the scheme at that time impracticable.

I will not venture to give expression to the feelings which I have experienced in relating the various incidents contained in this chapter, and which the attentive reader can hardly fail to share. That which prevails over every other, at the present moment, and which alone I wish to leave on record, is the feeling of deepest gratitude to those men of Connecticut, who, not from a mere hereditary attachment to the Church of England, or indolent acquiescence in her teaching, but from a deep abiding conviction of the truth that she is a faithful 'witness and keeper of Holy Writ,' have shown to her ministers, in every age and country, the way in which they can best promote the glory of their heavenly Master's name, and enlarge the borders of His Kingdom. And, as for the hindrances cast in their path by the policy of secular rulers at home, let

[72] Chandler's Life of Johnson (Appendix), 182.

us now only think of them in contrast with the willing readiness, which we have seen exhibited by Statesmen of all parties in our own day, to strengthen the hands, and increase the efficiency, abroad and at home, of the Church of which they are members.

CHAPTER XXX.

REMAINING NOTICES OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND IN RHODE ISLAND, NEW YORK, THE CAROLINAS, GEORGIA, AND THE WEST INDIES.

A.D. 1700—1776.

THE names of many persons and places have occurred incidentally in the course of the foregoing narrative, which demand a yet further notice; and this I propose to give, as briefly and faithfully as I can, in the concluding chapter of this Volume.

Rhode Island.

Rhode Island, for example, which comprises not only the island of that name, but Narragansett, and other adjacent parts of the continent,—the asylum of Roger Williams in the hour of his persecution,—and the residence of Dean Berkeley, in the day when he strove (but ineffectually) to realise his noble scheme,—was one of the first Colonies which besought the help of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. In Newport, its chief town, Lockyer, a Clergyman of the Church of England, had gathered a small flock, and Nicholson, Governor of Maryland, had laid the foundation of Trinity Church, before the end of the 17th century. Honyman was appointed to it by the Society, in 1704.

Services of Honyman.

He returned to England upon his private affairs in 1708, but was soon again at his post; and the whole period of his services, which were uniformly conducted with active and prudent zeal, lasted for 45 years. Besides his regular ministrations at Newport, he visited Portsmouth, at the southern extremity of the island, and Freetown, Tiverton, Little Compton, Providence, and Narragansett, on the continent. The charge of the three first-named towns on the continent was, in 1712, delegated to a second Missionary; that of Providence, thirty miles north-west of Newport, and now the most flourishing town in the State, was undertaken, as we have seen, by Pigott, who removed thither from Stratford; and that of Narragansett,—where a Church had been built in 1707,—was, for a short time, entrusted to Christopher Bridge, an assistant to Myles, at King's Chapel, Boston,—and, afterwards, to Guy, who arrived in 1717, but, through ill health, removed soon afterwards to South Carolina. Mc Sparran then succeeded to the post; and, from 1721 to the end of 1757, continued, with scarcely any intermission, discharging his duties with a fidelity which has won for him a reputation second to none of the Society's Missionaries[1]. But, whatsoever success may have waited upon labourers who came afterwards, the foundation of the work was undoubtedly laid by Honyman. His earnest entreaties and unwearied diligence made it impossible for the Society, even in the infancy of its existence, not to do its utmost to help him. Finding, in his earliest visits to Providence, that he gathered around him

[1] Updike speaks of him as 'the most able divine that was ever sent over to that country.' History of the Church in Narragansett, 266.

larger numbers there than in any other place, he writes home, and says,

'There is a great prospect of settling a Church here; and, if the Society will send a Missionary to a people so much in want, and yet so desirous of receiving the Gospel, perhaps this might prove one of the greatest acts of charity they have ever done yet.'

Soon afterwards, his prayer is renewed:

'I have preached there again, and the number of people is so increased, that no house there could hold them, so that I was obliged to preach in the open fields. The people are now going about to get subscriptions to build a Church. If the Society knew the necessity there is of a Missionary here, they would immediately send one. In the mean time I shall give them all the assistance I can.'

These were no vain words. The benefit of Honyman's assistance was felt in every way; not only by urgent remonstrances and unwearied ministrations, but by the help which few Missionaries had the power to give, that of money offerings. When the Church at Providence was built, he contributed £10,—a seventh part of his Missionary income; and when, in 1726, a new and larger Church was completed in Newport, his offering was £30, and, mainly through his exertions, was raised the remainder of the required sum, amounting to nearly £2000.

Benefactions of Mr. Kay.

Of the Lay-members of the Church who assisted Honyman, Nathaniel Kay, collector of the Royal revenues in Rhode Island, stood foremost; and although, amid the extensive mismanagement of estates in trust which followed the Revolutionary war, the property has been lost, it ought not to be forgotten that the piety of Kay bequeathed a house, lands, and money for the foundation and endowment of schools in connexion with the Church at Newport and Bristol; and that, within a

few years from his death, which took place in 1734, to the outbreak of the war, the benefit was enjoyed by her people.

The successors of Honyman.

The first master of the school founded by Kay, Jeremiah Leaming, was one of the many celebrated men, of whom I have already spoken, who left the Congregationalists for the Church of England; and, having been (according to the provisions of Kay's Will) ordained, he became the assistant of Honyman in his pastoral duties. Upon the death of the latter, Leaming had the entire charge of the Mission for a year. It was then, as we have seen, offered to and declined by Beach. After which Pollen and Browne were successively entrusted with it, Veates and Bisset acting as the assistants and schoolmasters. Up to this time, the appointment and part of the stipend of the minister had been derived from the Society at home. But, upon the death of Browne (1770), the Society declined to be any longer responsible for either, believing that the Church at Newport was able to provide both from her own resources; and that, where this was the case, the duty of the Society was to turn to other quarters which stood in greater need of its fostering care;—an equitable rule of action, which is observed to this day. Bisset was elected to the vacant post; and continued to discharge its duties, until the evacuation of Rhode Island by the King's troops, in 1779, forced him to flee. Then followed the ruin and distress of which so many examples were witnessed in every quarter. His wife and child were brought with himself to beggary; and the structure and ornaments of his Church were defaced amid the jeers and insults of soldiers flushed with conquest. The King's arms, after being dragged

down and trampled under foot, were carried out to the north battery, and set up as a target to fire at. The only wonder is, that the pulpit in which Berkeley once preached should have been suffered to stand, or that any emblem of Royalty, either the crown upon the spire, or the crown surmounting the organ given by Berkeley, should have escaped the hands of the spoiler.

I profess not to describe the strife and confusion which followed. My only reason for alluding to them at all is that I may gratefully record the fact, that, in the end, order and harmony and effectual ministrations of holiness were restored, by the resolution of the Churches of Newport, Providence, and Bristol, passed in Convention in 1790, declaring Seabury, Bishop of the Church in Connecticut, to be Bishop also of the Church in Rhode Island; and by the appointment, in 1797, to the Church at Newport, of Theodore Dehon, the very savour of whose name, as Pastor, Preacher, and Bishop, is, and ever will be, in all climes and countries, fragrant as that of "ointment poured forth[2]."

Providence. Pigott and his successors.

The formation of a Church at Providence, and the removal thither from Stratford of Pigott, its first minister, have been already described. The township of Providence, at that time (1724), included the whole county of the same name, and embraced a population of 10,000 per-

[2] Dehon officiated at Newport until 1810, when, through ill health, he removed to Charleston, and became Rector of St. Michael's. In 1812, he was consecrated Bishop of the Church in S. Carolina. He died in 1817, aged 41. Humphreys, 318—326; Hawkins, 165—168; Updike, 392—406; Gadsden's Life of Bp. Dehon, 71—94.

sons, a majority of whom were little disposed to regard with favour the ministrations of the Church of England among them. Pigott staid there but a short time; and thence removed to Marblehead, at which place, and at Salem, he continued to officiate for a few years, still visiting occasionally his former congregation at Providence, and showing himself a prompt, learned, and able defender of the public ordinances of the Church. His course of duty was interrupted, in 1738, by heavy domestic sorrows. A fearful epidemic broke out at Marblehead, carrying off 400 of its inhabitants, and among them, within three weeks, four of Pigott's children. In the midst of his affliction, he went to visit a poor sick parishioner, and, falling upon a ridge of ice, broke his left arm. A second time, in the course of the following summer, he broke the same arm; and, with health and spirits shattered, he sought and obtained leave to retire to England[3].

Brown, Checkley, and Graves.

Of those who followed Pigott at Providence, I find honourable mention made, in the records still extant, of Arthur Brown, Checkley, and Graves. His immediate successor, whose name was Charro, was dismissed for misconduct. The career of Checkley was a remarkable one. A native of Boston, and receiving there his education in earlier years, he completed it at the University of Oxford. He then passed some time in travelling through the greatest part of Europe; and, upon his return to Boston, applied himself chiefly to the study of subjects connected with the doctrines and discipline of the Church. His first pamphlet, in 1723, was entitled, 'A modest proof of the order and government settled

[3] Updike, 213, 214. 409.

by Christ and His Apostles in the Church, &c.,' and showed what had been for some time the current of his research and thoughts. In the same year, Checkley republished Leslie's 'Short and Easy Method with the Deists;' and appended to it another Treatise on Episcopacy. For this, he was brought to trial, upon the charge of being a libeller; and the jury returned a special verdict of 'guilty, if publishing in defence of Episcopacy was a libel.' A sentence, imposing a penalty of £50, followed this verdict; and, upon the payment of it, Checkley proceeded to England, where he republished his pamphlet, in 1728, and sought for ordination in her Church. In this attempt he failed at first; his enemies having succeeded in persuading Bishop Gibson that he was a Non-juror. I cannot find the slightest evidence for this charge; but, when the house of Hanover was beset by many and formidable enemies within and without the kingdom, and whilst the scandal, caused among Churchmen in the Colonies by the acts of Welton and Talbot, was yet fresh in the Bishop's memory, he felt it his duty not to provoke further clamour, by ordaining one upon whom the odium of such an imputation rested. But Checkley was not to be turned aside from his purpose; and, in 1739, when he was in his 60th year, he was ordained by Weston, Bishop of Exeter, with the concurrence, of course, of Gibson. The evidences supplied from the records of the Church at Providence prove, that, even at that advanced age,—nearly the latest at which any man ever entered the ministry,—Checkley did good and valuable service, for a period of 14 years. He exercised a remarkable influence among the Indians and Negroes. Many of them who had known him in former years came to him from distant places;

receiving eagerly and thankfully his teaching, and sending to him their children for instruction[4].

Of John Graves, who had given up a Parish in Yorkshire, that he might enter upon the more arduous work which awaited him, as the successor of Checkley, at Providence, the same records furnish uniformly the highest testimony. At that place, and at Warwick, ten miles distant, there was not, from his arrival in 1754 until the breaking out of the Revolutionary war, any interruption to the course of his successful ministry. Among many of the Nonconformists, not less than among his own people, his eloquence and zeal and holiness excited the warmest admiration and love; and, with the knowledge of such things before us, arises a deeper feeling of regret, when we look a few years onward, and find the same miserable story renewed of jealousy, estrangement, violence, and final separation[5].

St. Michael's, Bristol.

Bristol, upon the Narragansett coast, had been first settled in 1680; and, a few years afterwards, the imposition of a tax upon all the inhabitants in support of a Congrega-

[4] Updike, &c., 205—211. 458—466.

[5] Ib. 264, 265. 466 - 478. Updike has here given two different accounts of Graves's conduct, after the Revolutionary war, which I am unable to reconcile. At p. 265, quoting from Staples' Annals, he says that Graves 'considered himself discharged from his oaths of allegiance and consecration vows, and offered his services to the Parish as an American, which were refused.' Yet, at p. 478, referring to Graves's own account of himself to the Society, he says, that, although 'most of the churches which, for five years, were shut up, had lately been opened, Graves could not be prevailed upon, either by threats or promises, to open his church in the present situation of affairs; that he had, therefore, quitted his parsonage-house, and the people had formally dismissed him.'

tionalist minister, proclaimed the unity of spirit and action between it and every other part of New England. In the beginning of the 18th century, a few Lay-members of the Church of England assembled themselves together in a small building near Mount Hope; and, in 1720, the Rev. Mr. Owen was sent by the Society to be their first minister in a Parish which they had formed for themselves, to which they gave the name of St. Michael. Upon his arrival, he found a wooden building raised for the future Church, the outside of which was hardly yet finished; but so eager were the people for the commencement of his public ministrations, that they laid down on the Saturday evening a few rough boards for a floor, and a congregation the next day of more than 200 persons,—many of whom came from the neighbouring towns,—showed the thankfulness with which the ordinances of the Church were received in a land in which they had been hitherto unknown. At the close of a year, Owen, who had evinced the greatest zeal and energy, was summoned to another office, better suited to his powers, that of Chaplain to the King's forces at New York. His successor, John Usher, amply supplied the loss which the infant Church at Bristol might have apprehended from the removal of Owen; and pursued an uninterrupted course of usefulness for 53 years, continually enlarging his field of duty, and multiplying within its borders evidences of his untiring devotion. The benefit which his Church derived from the bequest of Kay, was a source of great thankfulness to him; and greater still his joy at finding that his son,—born to him upon his first coming to Bristol, and whose baptism was among the first acts of his ministry,—enhanced, in his early

Services of Rev. John Usher and his son.

manhood, the greatness of the benefit by his efficient management of the school which had been thus founded. This was not the only service rendered to the Church by the younger Usher. No sooner had his father, sinking beneath the weight of fourscore years, gone to his rest, than there fell upon the flock, over which he had affectionately watched, so heavy a burden of affliction, through the war, that its utter extinction seemed to be inevitable. The first and temporary successor to Usher, Mr. Doyle, of Cambridge, Massachusetts, was forced, through ill health, to retire. Caner then followed; but, as we have seen already, advanced in age, he had but little strength left for the prosecution of so arduous a work. The first year in which Caner's name appears as Missionary at Bristol, 1778, the British forces attacked and set fire to the town; and the Church was utterly consumed. The loss of property thereby caused to the inhabitants provoked among them a more intense hatred against every thing which they identified with the obnoxious acts of Britain; and, since to be a Churchman was, in their judgment, to be an enemy of American liberty, no language was deemed too strong wherewith to condemn the name and ordinances of the Church. But, in spite of all the clamour that raged around him, the spirit of John Usher continued stedfast. Caner had been compelled to go to England[6]. But Usher, inheriting with his father's name his father's virtues, assembled the few who yet shared the like faith and hope, and celebrated with them such services as they could. At first, their meetings were forced to be in

[6] Although Caner withdrew from active duty, the Society granted him, Nov. 18, 1785, in consideration of his former services, an annual gratuity of £60.

secret. But, with the termination of the war, came greater liberty. And, for some time, in the old Court-house,—afterwards in a small wooden building, which they contrived to raise,—they assembled every Lord's Day, and joined in the prayers and praises of the Liturgy which Usher read to them. Graves came occasionally from Providence, and other ministers, to administer the sacraments, and render such further aid as they could give; but it was mainly by the patient watchfulness and simple-hearted piety of her faithful Lay-reader, that the Church of Bristol was then upheld. A brighter day at length dawned upon her. In 1791, Bishop Seabury confirmed twenty-five of her baptized children, who had been trained and nurtured amid such troublous times. In 1793, Seabury ordained Usher to be Rector of the Church in whose behalf he had laboured so long. And, after the lapse of ten years more, when he had reached an age greater even than that attained by his father, he was yet not removed from the midst of his people to share his father's grave[7], until his spirit had been cheered by the assurance that many a precious and enduring blessing was again secured unto the brethren who had once been so desolate. Not the least of these blessings was the knowledge received by Usher that Griswold, whose "praise is in all the churches," and who, a few years afterwards, was consecrated Bishop of the Eastern Diocese[8], was to be his successor at Bristol, and to

[7] Both father and son are buried in the chancel of the church at Bristol. Updike, p. 440.

[8] Dr. Bass, a former Missionary of the Society at Woodbury, was consecrated, in 1797, the first Bishop of New Hampshire and Massachusetts. Upon his death, in 1804, Bp. Parker had charge of the same diocese. Upon the consecration of Bp. Griswold, in

carry on the work which had there been so nobly sustained by his father's hands and his own [9].

Narragansett.

The earliest gathering of a Church at Narragansett, we have seen, was made by Honyman. The population of the county at the time that Christopher Bridge, the Assistant minister of King's Chapel, Boston, became its first regular Pastor in 1707, amounted to about 4000, including 200 Negroes [10]. The misunderstanding which had unhappily arisen between Bridge and Myles at Boston, to which I have alluded elsewhere, induced Bishop Compton to recommend his removal to Narragansett. A spirit quick to take offence appears again to have animated him in his new position; and, from this cause, probably, his post at Narragansett was, after the lapse of a year, exchanged for another at Rye, in New York, where he continued until his death, in 1719. It is only justice to his memory to add, that, although a part of his career was thus unquiet, Bridge had gained both at Boston and Narragansett the respect and affection of many persons; and, when it was terminated at Rye, he left behind him a reputation which any minister of the Church of Christ may be thankful to have deserved [11].

Rev. Christopher Bridge.

In 1717, Mr. Guy,—whose Parish of St. Helen, in South Carolina, had been made desolate by the massacre inflicted by the Yammasee Indians,—was appointed to take charge of Narra-

Rev. Mr. Guy.

1811. Vermont and Rhode Island were associated with the former provinces; and the whole was henceforth called 'the Eastern Diocese.'

[9] Humphreys, 331—334; Updike, 433—440. 476, 477.

[10] Humphreys, 325.

[11] Updike, 35. 38; Greenwood, 61—72.

gansett. But, at the end of two years, he was compelled, through ill health, to return to Carolina. To him succeeded, in 1721, James Mc Sparran, who, by a faithful ministry of 36 years, gave strength and stability to the Mission. Few communications were made to the Society upon a variety of matters, intimately affecting the welfare of the Colonial Church, which display more untiring vigilance or a sounder judgment than those of Mc Sparran[12]. His three Letters, also addressed in 1752 to different friends at home, and entitled 'America Dissected,' in the Appendix to Updike's History, contain an impartial account of the condition of the different Colonies, and of the progress of the Church at that time in most of them, and confirm the testimony, which his other writings abundantly supply, that he was, in all things, diligent, able, and conscientious[13].

Rev. Mr. Fayerweather.

Upon the death of Mc Sparran[14], the people of Narragansett sought for the services of Leaming; another evidence of the high reputation he enjoyed in New England. But the person appointed was Samuel Fayerweather, a native of Boston, a graduate of Harvard College, and formerly a Congregationalist minister at Newport. He had been admitted into the orders of the English

[12] Hawkins, 222. 227.

[13] Humphreys, 326. Updike, 46. 62. 191. 214. 238. 482—533.

[14] Mc Sparran, in his Will, devised his farms, which were of considerable value, for the support of a Bishop, provided one, whose Diocese should include the Narragansett county, came within seven years after the death of his wife. If the proviso were not complied with, the estates were to be divided between certain members of his family. Updike, &c. 274. I call attention to this bequest as another evidence to show how constant was the desire entertained by the Church in America to receive a resident Bishop.

Church in 1756, and was working as one of the Society's Missionaries in South Carolina, at the time that it was resolved to remove him to Narragansett. Owing to the detention of the letters announcing to him that decision, and the time which had been previously consumed in communication with England, an interval of nearly three years elapsed between the death of Mc Sparran and the arrival of his successor. During the whole of this interval, there had been a total disuse of Church ordinances; a cause sufficient of itself to account for the lack of sympathy and zeal which Fayerweather found among his diminished flock, when he entered upon his charge. He continued, however, diligent in the discharge of his duty, from that period (1760) until the end of 1774, when his refusal to omit the prayers prohibited by Congress led to the closing of his Church. Upon the general matters in dispute between the American Colonies and England, Fayerweather is believed to have entertained opinions in union with the majority of his countrymen; and hence, although he felt himself unable to alter the Liturgy which he had solemnly promised to observe, he was spared the indignities and distress to which the majority of his brother Clergy were exposed. He continued also to officiate occasionally in the private houses of his friends, until his death, in 1781; and the records of the Society show that the payment of his stipend was still continued. His body was interred, by the side of his predecessor Mc Sparran, beneath the communion table of St. Paul's Church, where they had both ministered for so many years [15].

[15] Updike, &c. 269—272. 358—362. 470—477. In 1799, it was voted that St. Paul's Church should be pulled down, and re-

New York. Services of Vesey.

Turning our attention now to the work which during the same period was carried on in the city and province of New York, I would ask the reader to bear in mind those parts of it which I have lately reviewed, in connexion with the especial services rendered to the Indians and Negroes by Vesey and Barclay, the successive Rectors of Trinity Church, New York[16]; by Jenney, Wetmore, Colgan, Charlton, and Auchmuty, their Assistant ministers and Catechists; and by Neau, Huddlestone, Noxon, and Hildreth, the Schoolmasters associated with them. The successful diligence of Barclay, in other departments of his ministry, was proved by the opening of a Chapel of Ease, St. George's, in 1752; and by the large increase of his flock, exhibited soon afterwards in it and in the Mother Church. A further proof is supplied in the foundation of King's College, during his incumbency, upon land which the Corporation of this Parish gave, and the earlier care of which had been entrusted to the able hands of Johnson[17]. He designed also the build-

Barclay.

built at Wickford, five miles north, and that a new church should be built on a site formerly given by Mc Sparran, for the accommodation of the people living in South Kingstown. The first part of this plan was executed, but not the other; and, meanwhile, the site on which the old Church stood, and the burial ground belonging to it, remain undisturbed. Ib. 362.

[16] Vol. ii. Vesey's incumbency lasted from 1697 to 1756; and, about the year 1713, he was appointed the Bp. of London's Commissary. (Berrian's History, &c. 33.) A grandson of Barclay, the second Rector, is spoken of by Berrian, (ib. 65,) as being still a member of the congregation of Trinity Church, and filling the office of British Consul at the time when his work was published (1847); thus keeping up the connexion between that Church and the family of Barclay for a whole century.

[17] See p. 400, *ante*.

ing of a second Chapel of Ease, St. Paul's; and, although he lived not to see it executed, its rapid completion under his successor was owing to his previous efforts[18].

Auchmuty.

Samuel Auchmuty, for sixteen years the Assistant to Barclay in his parochial duties, and Catechist to the Negroes, was now called to succeed him as Rector. For thirteen years longer, from 1764 to 1777, he continued to labour among his people. But these years, at first bright and hopeful, were soon darkened with the clouds of strife which gathered from without and burst with destroying fury upon New York. The Chapel of St. Paul was opened in 1766; and they who first assembled themselves beneath its roof may have looked forward to many a renewal and strengthening of the bonds of Christian fellowship which held them together. But the hour of their disruption was at hand; and with it came many a grievous trial, which made the pain and agony more intense.

Auchmuty's failing health had forced him to retire in 1776, with his family, to Brunswick in New Jersey; and he was thus spared from seeing with his own eyes a portion of these heavy sorrows. But the tidings of them were scarcely less appalling than their actual spectacle would have been. The hope of re-

[18] Berrian, 120, 121. The author of this work, who has lived in New York from childhood, and is now Rector of the Church of which he is the able historian, says, that according to its Register, 137 couples were married, and 431 adults and children were baptized, from 1763 to 1764, about the time of Barclay's death; and adds, that 'there has been nothing comparable to this, even in the most flourishing state of the parish, during' his 'long connexion with it.' Ib. 83.

turning peace, which he might have cherished when he heard that the King's troops had once more re-entered New York, was quickly followed by the news that the city had been set on fire in different quarters, and that Trinity Church, his own house, and the Schools and Library belonging to the Parish, were all laid in ashes. He came from Brunswick, and gazed with sorrowful heart upon the ruin. Hardly a vestige of his property remained. His wife and daughters were in the hands of the enemy; and he knew not when he should be able to obtain their freedom. Nevertheless, with resolute and stedfast spirit, he resumed his public duties; and, in St. Paul's Chapel, which had escaped the destroying hand of the incendiary, he was found preaching, only two days before he was seized with his last mortal sickness. He died, March 4, 1777, sustained by the same blessed hope which had animated him through life.

Ogilvie.

The period of Auchmuty's connexion with New York was distinguished by the valuable services of those who were associated with him in his ministry, not less than by his own. Among them was John Ogilvie, of whom I have already spoken, as the able and successful Missionary among the Mohawks. For nine years afterwards, from 1765 to 1774, he carried on the work of the ministry, with equal success, in his native city of New York, where he was especially celebrated for the power with which he secured the love and confidence of those who sought his counsel in private conference, and for the lucid and impressive manner in which he expounded the Scriptures in his public lectures[19]. He was still

[19] Berrian, 132—134.

exercising, in the strength of matured manhood, the best energies of his mind, and might have thought that length of days was before him, when death arrested his career. A stroke of apoplexy fell upon him in the pulpit, just after he had recited the text of a Sermon which he was about to preach; and the few brief days, in which his spirit yet lingered within its shattered tabernacle, were enough to prove his cheerful submission to the will of God.

Charles Inglis.

The friend and brother minister, who has borne this testimony to Ogilvie, was Charles Inglis, who had been elected a few months before him to the same office of Assistant minister in the Parish of Trinity Church, and Catechist to the Negroes. Upon the death of Auchmuty, in 1777, he succeeded to the Rectorship, and discharged its duties until his resignation in 1783. The first employment of one, who occupies so important a position in the history of the Colonial Church, was that of Master of the Free School at Lancaster, in Pennsylvania. After three years faithful service at this post, he came to England for ordination, and returned in 1759, to take charge of the Mission at Dover. Few places presented a more arduous field of duty. Its great extent (comprising the whole county of Kent, 33 miles long, and 10 broad), and the unhealthiness of its low, marshy lands, made his burden yet heavier. The sickness and death of his wife created fresh troubles; and was, probably, one of the chief reasons which led him, after much hesitation and reluctance, to request leave from the Society to transfer his services to New York. The manner in which he discharged that portion of his duties, which related to the instruction of Negroes in the city, has been

already noticed[20]. The like spirit animated him in every other department of his work, which, as the Revolutionary struggle drew on, was daily attended with fresh difficulties. The absence of Auchmuty, from the cause already mentioned, laid a heavier responsibility upon Inglis; but he appears to have been fully equal to its demands. The variety and greatness of them are minutely described by him in a letter which he wrote to the Society, Oct. 31, 1776. The Declaration of Independence had been made in the July preceding, and, for more than a year before that event, the perils and sufferings of the Loyalist Clergy had been very great. I have already called attention to some of them; and Inglis, in the above letter, enumerates many more. Some, he says, had their houses plundered, and their desks ransacked, under pretence of their containing treasonable papers. Others were assailed with opprobrious and brutal threats; others carried by armed mobs into distant provinces, or flung into jails, without any crime alleged against them; others, who had fled from their own homes, were seized and brought back, and threatened to be tried for their lives, because they had sought safety in flight; others dragged out of the reading-desk, even before the Declaration of Independence had been proclaimed, because they prayed for the King; others, summoned to appear at Militia musters with their arms, and fined for non-appearance, and threatened with imprisonment if they did not pay the fines. The dangers which beset his brethren soon reached Inglis himself. The removal of General Howe's forces from Boston to Halifax, in the preceding spring, and the

[20] See p. 313, *ante*.

occupation of New York by Washington and his troops, had left the Loyalists in the city entirely at the mercy of the latter. Inglis, who had now been for some years married a second time, sent his wife and three young children seventy miles up the Hudson, whilst he himself remained to discharge, as he best could, his duties. On the Sunday morning after Washington's arrival, one of his officers called at the Rector's house, supposing him to have been at home, and left word that 'General Washington would be at church, and would be glad if the violent prayers for the King and Royal family were omitted.' The message was conveyed to Inglis, who paid no regard to it. Upon seeing Washington soon afterwards, Inglis plainly told him, that he might, if he pleased, shut up their Churches, but he had no power to make the Clergy depart from the path of duty; and that the attempt to exercise it was most unjust. The terms and manner of Washington's reply led Inglis to believe that he felt the force of the remonstrance, and that in fact the message had proceeded from the officious zeal of his officer, and not from his own command. A few days later (May 17), the Congress appointed the public observance of a day of fasting, humiliation, and prayer, throughout the thirteen united Colonies. Inglis caused his Church to be opened for the celebration of Divine Service upon that day. Careful not to make any direct acknowledgment of the authority of Congress, he yet felt it to be his duty to profit by any and every opportunity of uniting with his people in public prayer, and of impressing upon their hearts and his own whatsoever might tend to the restoration of peace, and to

His difficulties during the Revolutionary War.

the instant and hearty repentance of those sins which had disturbed it. But each day the impending crisis drew nearer. Washington had now nearly 30,000 troops under his command; and, although it is impossible to believe that his generous and candid spirit would willingly have encouraged any harsh and cruel treatment of the few Loyalists still remaining in the city, instances of it frequently occurred. Inglis and his brother Clergy were insulted as they passed along the streets, and threatened with violence, if they dared to pray any longer for the King. One Sunday, after he had been reading prayers, a body of a hundred soldiers marched, with the sound of fife and drum, into the Church, and, with bayonets fixed on their loaded muskets, took up their position in the aisle. Amid the fainting of women, and the cries and tumult of the rest of the people, who expected the instant perpetration of some murderous deed, Inglis went on with the service. The soldiers, after a few minutes, went into some vacant pews which the sexton invited them to occupy; but still the congregation expected, that, as soon as Inglis began to read the Collects for the King and Royal family, they would rise and shoot him, as they had often declared they would do. Inglis repeated the obnoxious Collects in their presence, without reserve or faltering; and, whatsoever may have been the intention of the soldiers, it was overruled; for they suffered him to proceed with, and conclude, the service unharmed.

His firmness under them.

The Declaration of Independence, made early in the July following, threw fresh obstacles in the way of Inglis; and, after consulting with such members of the Vestry and of the congregation as were still in

New York, it was unanimously agreed to close the Churches in which they were no longer permitted to celebrate services which alone they accounted lawful. The other Assistants took refuge in the country with their friends; but Inglis remained in the city, to visit the sick, to comfort the distressed, to baptize the newly-born, and to bury the dead. Some of Washington's officers demanded the keys of the Churches, that their Chaplains might preach in them, but Inglis refused to give them up, adding, that, 'if they would use the Churches, they must break the gates and doors to get in.' The demand was repeated with angry threats; upon which Inglis, fearing lest the sextons might be tampered with, himself took possession of the keys, and replied, 'that he did what he knew to be his duty, and that he would adhere to it, be the consequences what they would.' He succeeded thereby in saving his Churches from the intrusion meditated; but it was impossible that he could continue the struggle much longer. The recollection of some recent pamphlets against the proceedings of Congress, of which Inglis was known to be the author, gave fresh impulse to the rage excited against him by his continued refusal to submit to its authority, and compelled him, in the middle of August, to withdraw to a place of concealment. The lapse of a few weeks saw New York again in possession of the King's forces, and Inglis, with many others, availed himself instantly of the liberty to return. He found his house, indeed, pillaged, and most of his property destroyed; yet, with hearts full of thankfulness and hope in the prospect of returning peace, he and his brethren assembled, on the first Wednesday after

their return, in one of the Churches opened for the occasion, and joined in the public services of prayer and praise. But fresh trials awaited them. Before the end of that week, the hand of the incendiary had done the fearful work of ruin which has been already described; and when, at the expiration of a few months afterwards, Inglis was unanimously invited to succeed to the Rectorship, vacant by Auchmuty's death, he found himself at the head of a Parish weakened and impoverished to the last degree. The loss, by the fire alone, of property vested in its Corporation, was estimated at more than £22,000 sterling; and the form of Inglis's induction into his important office bore singlar testimony to the discouraging circumstances which attended it; for it was done, in the presence of the Churchwardens and Vestrymen, by placing his hand upon the blackened ruins of the Church which had been burnt.

The heavy burdens which Inglis and his Parish had to bear made it impossible for him to undertake, at that time, the additional charge of rebuilding the Church[21]; but he continued, for nearly six years longer, amid unceasing dangers and difficulties, to watch over the flock entrusted to him. The manner in which he discharged this duty may be best learnt from the fact, that, when through the continued hostility of Congress, (manifested by the passing of an Act which banished his person, and confiscated his estate,) he was compelled, in 1783, to resign his office and withdraw to England, he not only found there a place of re-

Afterwards consecrated the first Bishop of Nova Scotia.

[21] It was rebuilt in 1788 by his successor in the Rectorship, Bp. Provoost.

fuge from his troubles, and friends who honoured him for the courage and constancy with which he had borne himself under them, but was sent forth again, four years afterwards, the consecrated Bishop of the important province of Nova Scotia.

Chandler chosen in the first instance to the office, but declines it.

And here I ought not to omit to say,—for it is an honour to both men,—that this first Bishopric in the Colonial Church of England was, in the first instance, offered to Chandler, whose valuable services, as a Missionary in New Jersey, I have described [22]. He had already preceded Inglis in his constrained flight to England, and received in various quarters most cheering testimonies of love and reverence. The University of Oxford conferred upon him her highest degree; the Government increased his annual stipend from £50 to £200; and, as soon as it was determined that Nova Scotia should be formed into a Diocese, he was invited to undertake the duties of its first Bishop. He was constrained, through feebleness of health, to decline the offer; and, being called upon by the Archbishop of Canterbury to name the man best qualified to accept it, he suggested the name of Charles Inglis, who thereupon was consecrated to the office. It is worthy of remark, that, at this same time, Inglis was exerting himself, with others of the American Clergy, to recommend Chandler to the very post which, by the advice of Chandler, he was himself called upon to occupy [23].

[22] See pp. 245—250, *ante*.

[23] Bp. White's Memoirs of the Prot. Episc. Ch. U. S. 331; McVicar's Life of Bp. Hobart, 177. I may here add, upon the authority of some unpublished MS. Letters, which have been lent to me, from Chandler and others to Boucher, that, if Chandler had

John Bowden.

Besides Ogilvie and Inglis, three other Clergymen, John Bowden, Samuel Provoost, and Benjamin Moore, were distinguished as Assistant ministers of Trinity Parish, during the Rectorship of Auchmuty. Bowden was the son of an officer in the English army, who, having gone out to join his father in America, was brought up first at Princeton College in New Jersey, and afterwards at King's College, New York; and, after his ordination in England, entered upon the duties of the above office. On the death of Auchmuty, his feeble health induced him to resign it; and, although, from the same cause, he was afterwards compelled to give up a pastoral charge at St. Croix, in the West Indies, yet he lived to an advanced age, and, for many of his later years, was Professor of Moral Philosophy at King's College, where his learning and piety gained for him a reputation which is gratefully and affectionately cherished by many persons to this day.

Samuel Provoost, afterwards Bishop of New York.

Samuel Provoost, descended from an old French Huguenot family, who had long found in New York a place of shelter from their persecutors, had received his earlier education under the care of President Johnson at King's College; and this influence appears to have been one of the chief causes which led him to leave the Dutch Reformed Church, of which he and his family had been members, and to enter into communion with the Church of England. He completed

been perfectly free to choose the man whom he believed most fit to be the first Bishop of Nova Scotia, or if other circumstances had favoured it, the appointment would have fallen, not upon Inglis, but upon Boucher. For an account of Boucher's character and conduct, see pp. 154—160. 212—217, *ante*.

his education at Cambridge; and, after he was ordained, returned, in 1766, to his native country, as Assistant minister of Trinity Parish. In the Revolutionary struggle, his opinions were opposed to those of a majority of his Lay and Clerical brethren; in consequence of which he gave up his pastoral duties, and lived in studious retirement with his family, upon a small farm which he had purchased in Duchess County. Upon the resignation of the Rectorship of Trinity Parish by Inglis, the Vestry had unanimously chosen Benjamin Moore, one of its Assistant ministers, to be his successor. But, no sooner had the King's forces evacuated the city, and its temporary government been vested in the Committee appointed by the Legislature, than the validity of this appointment was disputed. The Vestry, confident that they had acted lawfully, refused to accede to a proposal that they should resort to another election. Whereupon the matter was argued before the Council, who pronounced the election void by reason of the illegal constitution of the Vestry. It is difficult to understand upon what ground, except that declared in the maxim that 'might makes right,' this decree could be sustained; for the Vestry had been chosen according to the Charter, and done nothing more than they were authorised to do by its provisions. But there was no tribunal to which appeal could be made; and submission to the decree was inevitable. The Council further vested the temporalities of the Parish in nine Trustees, who forthwith took possession (Jan. 13, 1784). A new Vestry was chosen; and the unanimous election of Provoost to the Rectorship was one of its first acts. Three years afterwards, he was consecrated Bishop of New York; and it is remarkable

that, in both these offices, he was, in due time, succeeded by Moore, the very man whom the decree of the Council had displaced from one of them. The loss of his wife and other domestic sorrows led Provoost to retire from the Rectorship in 1800, and, in the following year, from his jurisdiction as Bishop in the State of New York [24].

Benjamin Moore, afterwards Bishop of New York.

The services of Moore, from the year 1774, when he became an Assistant of Auchmuty at Trinity Church, until the year 1811, when paralysis, preceding his death by five years, disabled him from discharging any longer the duties of Bishop of New York, are remarkable for the close and distinct testimony which they bear to his piety, simplicity, discretion, meekness, and love. 'Steady in his principles,' says Bishop Hobart, his successor in the Parish and in the Diocese, 'yet mild and prudent in advocating them, he never sacrificed consistency, he never provoked resentment. In proportion as adversity pressed upon the Church was the firmness of the affection with which he clung to her. And he lived until he saw her, in no inconsiderable degree, by his counsels and exertions, raised from the dust, and putting on the garments of glory and beauty.' Berrian likewise declares that the labours of Moore, whilst Rector of Trinity Church, were beyond all precedent. With the single exception of Bowden of whom I have just before spoken, and who was still living at the time of Moore's death, this good

[24] Provoost attempted to resume this jurisdiction, ten years afterwards, in opposition to Bishop Hobart, then consecrated as the Assistant Bishop to Moore, but failed to establish it. McVicar's Life of Bp. Hobart, 296—313, and Bp. Wilberforce's History, &c. 308—310.

Bishop was the last of the venerable men in the Diocese of New York, who had derived their ordination from the parent Church of England. Bishop Hobart refers to this fact in his Funeral Sermon, already quoted, upon Bishop Moore; and, adding that the 'characters' of the men 'were marked by attachment to Evangelical truth, in connexion with primitive order,' he exhorts his brethren to suffer not their 'principles' to 'descend with them to the grave;' but, in watchfulness and prayer, to walk according to the same rule, considering how soon their course would be finished, and the account of their stewardship demanded; 'and how awful was the responsibility of those to whom Christ hath entrusted the charge of the sheep for whom He shed His blood, of the congregation which is His Spouse and Body.'

Such an exhortation, delivered at such a time and by such a man, could not have been delivered in vain. Some who heard it yet live in that foremost city of the United States, to testify, in the faithful discharge of their daily ministry, their consciousness of its truth and power. Others, who have gone to their rest, have left the like testimony behind them. And many more, who toil in other parts of the same wide harvest-field, are at this hour accumulating abundant confirmation of the same fact[25].

The Carolinas.

Turn we now to the Carolinas, which differed not less widely in their political than in their geographical position, from the Colonies last mentioned. I have already described these points of difference, and shown that, with all the lordly pretensions which characterised the first Proprietary Go-

[25] Hawkins, 328—341; Berrian, 64—262.

vernment of the province, and in spite of the weight attached to them by the name and authority of Locke, it contained within itself the elements of speedy and inevitable ruin. Not only was the general well-being of the Colony affected by these hurtful influences, but an effectual barrier was set up, for a time, against even the admission of those ordinances of the Church of England, which, alike in their Charters and Constitutions, the Lords Proprietors professed themselves ready to introduce. The result was, as we have seen, that, for nearly 20 years from the date of the first Carolina Charter, not a Clergyman was sent to that province, or any visible token set up within its borders, to show that it was the possession of a Christian country. The weight of this reproach, we have also seen, was at length removed through the exertions of some few faithful members of the Church at Charleston, with the assistance of Bishop Compton, Dr. Bray, Burkitt, and other active members of the Society at home, who sought to extend the ordinances of the Church both among the British settlers in the province and the neighbouring Indian tribes[26]. The last of these designs, indeed, was frustrated, and the work of propagating the knowledge of the Christian faith throughout the Colony greatly impeded, first by the suspicious jealousy, and afterwards by the fierce onslaught made upon the English settlements by the Yammasee and other Indian tribes. But, in spite of all difficulties, the work begun by Williamson, Marshall, and Thomas was sustained in a like spirit of zeal and faithfulness by their successors. In 1706,

The services of Dr. Le

Dr. Le Jeau was appointed to the Mission

[26] Vol. ii. 320—328. 461—465.

at Goosecreek, vacant by the death of Thomas; and, for eleven years, laboured there and at Charleston, with unwearied diligence, and was honoured by the love and confidence of all among whom he dwelt. Among the Negroes especially, he succeeded in carrying on a systematic course of instruction, gathering them around him by words and acts of kindness, and persuading their reluctant masters to allow them to resort to him for counsel and partake of the sanctifying ordinances of the Church[27]. His influence, at the same time, among his own countrymen, may be learnt from their generous free-will offerings to his support, and from the provision which they made of a Church, glebe-lands, and parsonage, for those who should carry on the like good offices hereafter.

Jeau at Goosecreek.

Upon his death, in 1717, the Mission was left seven years without a permanent minister, not through any indifference of the Society to its wants, but, as it afterwards appeared, from the unworthy character of the man whom they had regarded as deserving their confidence, and whom the Vestry could not elect[28].

At the end of that time, the work was effectually renewed by Richard Ludlam; and, although again interrupted after five years by his early death,—yet the record of his name and piety remained in a bequest, amounting to nearly £2000 currency, 'for the instruction of the poor children of his Parish.'

Richard Ludlam.

[27] See Directions given by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel to Catechists for instructing Indians, Negroes, &c. Appendix, No. III.

[28] Dalcho's Hist. of the Church in S. Carolina, 252.

His successors.

With respect to his successors, Millechamp, Stone, and Harrison, the want of space confines me to only a brief notice of the last. For more than 20 years, from 1752 to 1774, he carried on his ministry with the greatest energy and success; and not the least interesting evidences of it are those which relate to his diligence and care in promoting the pious intentions of Ludlam. Another touching proof of the love which his Parishioners cherished for him was an offering of £120 currency, presented by the Vestry to defray the expenses of a long and severe sickness with which he and his family were visited a few years after he had settled among them [29]. The unhealthiness of the lower parts of the district appears to have continued; for Dalcho, whose History was published in 1820, states that, from this cause, the Planters leave the Parish in the summer, and only look for the celebration of Divine Service from November to June. He remarks that its Church was the only country Church not turned into a barrack or hospital by the British army during the Revolutionary War, and ascribes this exception in its favour to the fact that the Royal Arms had still been suffered to remain over the altar [30]. He might have added, that, if the Church had fallen into the hands of the American forces, the presence of the same symbol

[29] Their kindly feelings towards him were also manifested in a way as strange to our minds as that which I have noticed (Vol. ii. p. 463). In 1754, they subscribed upwards of £300 currency 'to purchase a Negro for the use of the Parsonage;' and, in 1757, 'a Negro slave was generously presented to the Parish, for the use of the Rector, as a small encouragement to him for his endeavouring to propagate the Gospel among the Slaves in the said Parish.' Dalcho, 259.

[30] Ib. 263.

would probably have hastened the work of demolition.

Parishes formed in the province.

Many other Parishes were formed in the province about the same time with Goose-creek, or soon afterwards; viz., St. John's, in Berkeley county; Christ Church (adjoining to Craven county); St. Thomas's and St. Dennis's (bordering on Cooper River); St. James's, Santee (between the river of that name and Berkeley county); Prince George, Winyaw, and All Saints, Wacamaw (afterwards taken off from the same Parish); St. Mark's, St. Stephen's, St. David's, St. Matthew's, St. Andrew's, St. George's (Dorchester); St. Paul's, St. Bartholomew's, and St. John's, in Colleton county; St. Helena's, Beaufort (in Granville county); and Prince William's, St. Peter's, and St. Luke's, all subdivisions of the last-named Parish.

Besides these, there must be reckoned the two important Parishes in Charleston itself; that of St. Philip, whose early history I have before given [31], and that of St. Michael, settled in 1751, and comprising all parts of the town south of the middle of Broad Street. Separate Missions also were established at Cuffee Town, and in Edisto Island, upon the sea-coast, about 40 miles south-west of Charleston.

Offensive legislation of the Colony in Church matters.

The constitution of many of these Parishes, and the provision for erecting Churches and for maintaining Ministers in them, were the work of the General Assembly under the Proprietary Government (Nov. 4, 1704); and the manner in which it was done quickly reproduced the same evils which had been so destruc-

[31] Vol. ii. p. 461.

tive to the Church in Virginia and Maryland. Churchmen and Nonconformists were alike offended by such legislation. The former found a Lay tribunal set up under its authority for the trial of causes ecclesiastical, and a consequent usurpation of powers which belonged only to the jurisdiction of the Bishop. The latter complained, with not less justice, that its provisions were directly opposed to the indulgence secured to them by the 18th Article of the first Carolina Charter[32]; and appealed against it to the British government through Joseph Boone their agent. The appeal was successful. The House of Lords resolved, that the establishment of the proposed Lay-tribunal was 'contrary to the Charter of the Colony, repugnant to the laws of the realm, and destructive to the constitution of the Church of England;' and that the enactment which affected Nonconformists in the Colony was likewise repugnant to its Charter, and fraught with ruin to the province. An Address to Queen Anne was drawn up, in accordance with these Resolutions, praying for redress. The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel also resolved that no more Missionaries should be sent to Carolina until the law establishing the Lay-commissions should be repealed.

The Queen, upon the representation of the Lords Commissioners of Trade and Plantations, declared these offensive Acts to be null and void; and on the 30th of November, 1706, the General Assembly repealed them.

Edward Marston.

The turbulent proceedings of one of the Clergy, Edward Marston[33], aggravated the evils of such erroneous legislation. Skilfully turning

[32] Ib. p. 317.

[33] Ib. p. 464.

to his own account the mistakes of the Assembly, he heaped, with unsparing hand, reproaches upon all who were in authority, and thus kept open wounds which good men would have sought to heal. I gladly pass over the specimens of his vindictive temper, which are still to be found in some of the Volumes of Kennett's Tracts; and will only add, that, in 1712, the Colony was relieved by his return to England.

The province divided into North and South Carolina.

In 1729, the interest of seven of the eight Proprietors of Carolina was purchased by Act of Parliament for £22,500 and vested in the Crown[34]. The Colony was henceforward divided into two distinct provinces, called North and South Carolina, each of which was ruled by a Governor and Council of the King's appointment. Before this division, 38 Clergy had been settled in the various Parishes of the Colony; and, between that period and the Declaration of Independence, 92 more came out to South Carolina alone[35]. To these must be added the number employed in N. Carolina, among whom was Clement Hall, a Missionary, not surpassed by any for the faithful and unwearied zeal with which he carried on his work. Some, indeed, in both provinces, were unable to bear the unhealthy climate, and died, or returned to England. Yet a large majority remained in the steady and consistent discharge of their duties; and I regret that the limits of this Volume will only allow me to take a brief notice of some of the leading points of interest connected with them.

[34] The property of the eighth, Lord Carteret, was still reserved to him and his family; but all share in the government was surrendered to the Crown. Holmes's Annals, ii. 155.

[35] Dalcho, 432—435.

Among the earlier Missionaries, Robert Maule holds a conspicuous place for the salutary influence which he exercised alike among the English Planters and the French emigrants, and for the cheerful patience with which he sustained their spirit and his own, when the irruption of the Indians made such fearful havoc among them. The attention paid to the spiritual welfare of the French inhabitants, who had formed from the first an important part of the Colony, is very remarkable. The Parish of St. James, Santee, was expressly formed, in 1706, for their benefit; and Philippe de Richebourg, described as 'a worthy and pious man[36],' and who had formerly found a refuge, with six hundred of his brethren, above the Falls on James River, was appointed its first minister. Although not employed by the Society, he and his colleague Le Pierre were both remembered by it, amid the distress caused by the Indian outbreak, and received, in common with its own Missionaries, that pecuniary help which enabled them still to continue their work of usefulness in the Colony.

The Bishop of London's Commissaries, Johnstone and Garden.

The office of Commissary of the Bishop of London was early established in Carolina; and the first appointed to it, in 1707, was Gideon Johnstone[37]. He had enjoyed a high reputation as a Clergyman in Ireland; but seems to have been more ready to detect discouragements and difficulties than any thing that was hopeful or cheering in his new field of duty. There are few letters, now in the possession of the Society, which abound more in complaints than his; and yet there is

[36] Ib. 295.

[37] Dalcho calls him Johnson; but I have followed the more correct spelling of the name given by Humphreys and Hawkins.

contemporaneous evidence to show that the prospect which he accounted so gloomy was not without its bright spots. Some, indeed, of the brightest of these may be pointed out as the effects of Johnstone's own prudence and discretion; for, in a period of much division, he was distinguished for the energy with which he laboured after things that make for peace, and succeeded in reconciling many who were at strife in Charleston. His personal career was brief and full of trouble. Cast away upon a sand-bank at the mouth of the river, when he first came in sight of Carolina, he had nearly perished beneath the hardships to which he was exposed before any relief came. Bodily illness afterwards harassed him; and scantiness of temporal means added to his anxiety. For a brief season, he found some repose in England; but, soon after his return, having accompanied Governor Craven, who was about to leave the Colony, a short way down the river, he was drowned by a sudden squall, which overset the vessel in which he was sailing.

He was succeeded by Alexander Garden, who, in 1719, had been elected Rector of St. Philip's, Charleston, and whose high character amply justified his appointment by Bishop Gibson, in 1726, to the office of Commissary. The Bahama Islands, and both the provinces of N. and S. Carolina, were confided to his jurisdiction; and he continued, with scrupulous regularity and unvarying diligence, to discharge the duties of both offices until 1753, when ill health compelled him to resign them. The Vestry of St. Philip's, in their letter to the Bishop of London, requesting him to send out a successor to Garden, bear grateful testimony to the 'piety, zeal, and candour' which, for more

than 30 years, had marked his ministry, and proved him 'a good shepherd of Christ's flock.'

Garden's controversy with Whitefield.

The exercise of Garden's duties as Commissary is chiefly remarkable for the collision into which he was thereby brought with Whitefield. The circumstances of Whitefield's[38] visit to Virginia, during the same year (1740), may serve to show why no similar rupture occurred in that province between him and Commissary Blair. But the violent pamphlets which Whitefield had just published in the neighbouring Colony of Georgia, charging Archbishop Tillotson, and the Author of 'The Whole Duty of Man,' with ignorance of the cardinal truths of Christianity, had already constrained Garden to publish Six Letters, in which he repelled those charges, and exposed the presumption and arrogance of the accuser. No sooner had these Letters appeared, than Whitefield came himself to Charleston, and officiated in several of its Meeting Houses, setting at defiance all regard for the Book of Common Prayer, and the order of worship which it prescribed. Had Whitefield professed to be in communion with the Independents or Baptists, or any others who bade him welcome to their places of public worship, there would have been no inconsistency in his conduct. But he was still a Presbyter of the Church of England; and, only in the preceding year, upon his ordination to the Priesthood, had renewed the same solemn assurance which he had made as Deacon, that her Book of Common Prayer contained in it nothing contrary to the Word of God, and that he would himself use the form it prescribed

[38] See p. 131, *ante*.

in the public prayer, *and none other*. Believing, therefore, that he had grossly violated a law which he had promised to observe, Garden arraigned Whitefield before the Ecclesiastical Court in St. Philip's Church. Whitefield appeared at the appointed hour and place; but protested against the admission of any articles against him, objected to the authority of the Court, and prayed for time to exhibit his objections. His prayer was granted; and, upon further hearing, an unanimous judgment was pronounced against the exceptions which he had tendered. From this judgment, Whitefield appealed to the Lords Commissioners at home; and a year and a day were allowed for the prosecution of his appeal, and for hearing the result. At the expiration of this term, no decree of any superior Court having been interposed, Whitefield was again summoned to hear the articles objected against him. But he neither appeared nor put in any answer; and, after several adjournments, the Court passed a decree that he should be suspended from his office. Under any circumstances, probably, Whitefield would have treated with equal contempt the decree and the men who framed it. But, at the time when it was passed, his mind was occupied with many and distracting cares. The differences and impending separation between Wesley and himself upon the doctrine of election,—his own diminished popularity when he returned, for a time, to England,—and the embarrassments which threatened to implicate him in connexion with the Orphan House which he had established in Georgia,—all combined to turn away his thoughts from the Churchmen whom he had defied at Charleston.

The Rev. Robert

One of Garden's successors in the Rectory of St. Philip's, Robert Smith, de-

Smith, afterwards the first Bishop of the Church in S. Carolina.

serves especial notice, on account of the successful diligence with which he discharged its duties, and the higher authority with which he was afterwards invested, as first Bishop of the Church in S. Carolina. The influence, acquired among his brother Clergy by his judicious counsel and prompt and active benevolence, seems never to have been weakened; and their conduct in the Revolutionary struggle is, I think, mainly to be ascribed to this cause. The contrast between their conduct and that of the Clergy of all the northern provinces upon this question is very remarkable. For, whereas, among the latter, the number of those who took side with the Colonists against Great Britain was not one in ten, they who espoused the same cause in S. Carolina alone amounted to three-fourths of the whole number. Yet, the matters in dispute with the Mother-country were the same in this as in the other Colonies; neither was there any other local influence, beyond that which I have mentioned, which can at all account for this diversity of judgment. The sympathies of Smith, in the earlier stages of the conflict, were on the side of Britain; but the policy of her rulers, as time wore on, wrought so great a change in him that he appeared in the foremost ranks of her opponents. As soon as the appeal was made to arms, he stirred up the people by his preaching to a vigorous resistance; and, when the British troops under Clinton laid siege to Charleston, served in his own person in the lines as a common soldier[39]. His banishment by

[39] Many other Carolina Clergy denounced, at this time, from their pulpits the conduct of Britain towards her Colonies; especially John Lewis, Rector of St. Paul's, Colleton, in a Sermon on the text, "The Lord forbid it me, that I should give the inheritance of

the British upon their obtaining possession of Charleston (1780), was an inevitable consequence of the course which he had taken. But it enlisted more strongly in his favour the good-will of all who had borne part with him in the struggle. And when, at the conclusion of the war, three years afterwards, he returned once more among them, and was seen to bend all the strong energies of his mind to the work of building up again the waste places of the sanctuary, and infusing the spirit of love and confidence into hearts which had been vexed and torn by strife, it is no wonder that he should have acquired and retained a fresh hold upon their affections; and that the influence thus acquired should have worked for good. The Church of S. Carolina, mainly through his advice, was enabled to send her Delegates to the earliest General Conventions held at Philadelphia for the organisation of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States. And, when, in 1795, he was unanimously chosen and consecrated her first Bishop, it was felt by all her faithful members, that he was thereby invested with an authority for the exercise of which his long-tried ministerial labours had signally declared his fitness.

Governor Nicholson.

Brief and imperfect as the present sketch of the Church in S. Carolina must necessarily be, I cannot omit all notice of the valuable aid imparted to it, in earlier years, by Governor Nicholson, who came with a Royal Commission, in 1720, to rectify abuses which had sprung up through the mal-

my fathers unto thee," 1 Kings xxi. 3. Upon falling into the hands of the British, Lewis was banished to St. Augustine, whence, upon the exchange of prisoners, he afterwards returned, and resumed his ministerial duties. Dalcho, 357, 358.

administration of Governors appointed by the Lords Proprietors; and by the faithful discharge of his duty, in matters spiritual and secular, has left another claim upon the gratitude with which the memory of his name should be cherished.

Missionaries from Newfoundland.

The mild climate of Carolina and the superior endowments of some of its Parishes led, not unfrequently, to the introduction thither of Missionaries who had before been occupied in other less attractive fields of duty. None of these presented greater disadvantages than Newfoundland; and, from the Clergy of that Island, the ranks of the Carolina Clergy were sometimes supplied.

Rev. John Fordyce.

One of them, John Fordyce, deserves especially to be mentioned. He had manfully discharged his duties for five years, under circumstances of no ordinary difficulty, as a Missionary at St. John's, and been compelled, at last, to return to England, from sheer inability to procure subsistence for his family and himself. The Society had sent him out, in 1730, upon the faith of a promise from the boat-keepers to provide him with a small annual stipend, and a quintal of merchantable fish from every shallop employed in the fishery. Of the stipend, he never received more than three-fourths; another fourth was soon lost by the death or removal of the subscribers; and the quintal of fish was generally refused, or paid in a bad commodity. About three years after his arrival, every thing in the shape of payment was withheld, until he erected a gallery in the Church, which he did at the cost of 30 guineas. Whilst the inhabitants of St. John's treated Fordyce thus wrongfully, they had the hardihood to send home their public testimony that he was a diligent and faithful minister. Such testimony

was empty mockery; and the Society, finding it impossible to maintain the Mission at their sole charge, sent Fordyce a gratuity of £30 in acknowledgment of his services, and ordered his return to England [40]. In the next year, 1736, he appears in S. Carolina, as their Missionary in Prince Frederick's Parish; where he continued until his death in 1751, fully sustaining, in his new sphere of duty, the same character for ministerial zeal and usefulness which had experienced so ill a requital in Newfoundland.

The Rev. W. Peasely.

The like testimony cannot be given of William Peasely, who, in 1744, had been transferred from Bonavista to St. John's, to undertake once more, upon the faith of renewed promises by its inhabitants, the Mission which had been given up at that place. He remained there for seven years, discharging, as we have seen, his duties diligently, and at length only leaving it, because the non-fulfilment of the promises of its people made his longer residence among them impossible [41]. His immediate appointment to St. Helena, Beaufort, in S. Carolina, proved that he retained the confidence of the Society; and the earlier reports of him, after he had settled there, all speak hopefully. But, in 1755, grave complaints respecting him reached England. It is possible, indeed, that the weak state of health into which he had fallen from attacks of intermittent fever might, in the first instance, have furnished cause for these complaints. But the result soon afterwards proved too plainly that

[40] I am indebted for the above particulars respecting Fordyce to information kindly furnished from the Journals of S. P. G. by the Rev. W. T. Bullock, one of its indefatigable Assistant Secretaries.

[41] See p. 99, *ante*.

they admitted of no other remedy save that of his removal from the province.

Benefactions to the Church in S. Carolina.

An active and beneficent spirit was at work in the hearts of many of the Churchmen of S. Carolina at this time. The large legacies, for example, left by Mr. Beresford in 1721, and by Mr. Harris in 1731, for the education of the poor of the Parish of St. Thomas, to which they both belonged, and which was watched over, with undeviating and affectionate care, for more than 35 years, by one of the Society's most successful Missionaries, Thomas Hasell[42], are signal illustrations of it. In most of the Churches throughout the province, the vessels used in the celebration of the Lord's Supper, or the font of Baptism, or the Organ, were the gifts of devout worshippers, whose names are still held in grateful remembrance. In some Parishes, the Church itself was wholly, or for the most part, built by one of the chief Planters; in others, they provided the parsonage, or glebe land, or some like endowment. Thus, in spite of all the acknowledged evils which were inherent in the first constitution of the Colony, or which arose from the early errors of its House of Assembly, it is some consolation to know that the power of Christian zeal and love was enabled to make itself seen and felt; and that traces of the blessings thereby scattered throughout the land had survived even the desolating horrors of the Revolutionary war[43].

[42] Dr. Gadsden, Rector of St. Philip's, Charleston, and biographer of Bp. Dehon, is one of Hasell's descendants. Dalcho, 285, *note*.

[43] Humphreys, 81—127; Hawkins, 47—63; Dalcho, *passim*.

Missionaries in N. Carolina.

The description already given of the difficulties of the Church in S. Carolina, will apply equally to those which existed in N. Carolina, prior to the separation of the provinces. But the efforts to counteract them call for some further notice. Foremost among these were the services of John Blair, who first came out, in 1704, as an itinerant Missionary, through the bounty of Lord Weymouth, and, after suffering many hardships, returned to encounter them a second time, as one of the permanent Missionaries of the Society and Commissary of the Bishop of London. At the time of Blair's first visit, he found three small Churches in the Colony, with glebes belonging to them. His fellow-labourers, sent out by the Society in 1707 and the few next years, were Adams, Gordon, Urmston, Rainsford, Newman, Garzia, and Moir, some of whom, worn out by the hardships which poverty and fatigue and the indifference or hostility of the people brought upon them, returned not long afterwards to England. Compelled to lodge, when at home, in some old tobacco-house, and, when they travelled, to lie oftentimes whole nights in the woods, and to live for days together upon no other food but bread moistened in brackish water; journeying amid deep swamps and along broken roads through a wild and desert country, and finding themselves, at the distance of every twenty miles, upon the banks of some broad river, which they could only cross by good boats and experienced watermen, neither of which aids were at their command; encountering in some of the Plantations the violent opposition of various Nonconformists, already settled there in preponderating numbers; receiving in others

Rev. John Blair.

Their difficulties.

the promise of some small stipend from the Vestry, which was called a "hiring," and, if paid at all, was paid in bills which could only be disposed of at an excessive discount; forced, therefore, to work hard with axe and hoe and spade, to keep their families and themselves from starving, and discerning not in any quarter a single ray of earthly hope or comfort, it cannot be a matter of surprise that some of them should have sought once more the shelter and rest of their native land. Governor Eden, and, after him, Sir Richard Everett, both appear to have done what they could to bring about a better state of things; and, at a later period (1762), Arthur Dobbs, who filled the same high office, made earnest but vain appeals to the authorities at home that a Bishop might be sent out to the province. The Assembly, also, had passed an Act, as early as the year 1715, by which the whole province was divided into nine Parishes, and a stipend, not exceeding £50, was fixed for their respective Ministers by the Vestries. But, regard being had to the peculiar condition of the Colony at that time, the letter of such an enactment served only to provoke and aggravate dissensions. There was no spirit of hearty co-operation in the great body of the people; and the unwillingness of the magistrates of the several districts to set an example of earnest and true devotion may be learnt from a strange fact, recorded by Blair upon his first visit to the province, that, whilst he administered every other ordinance required of him by the Church, he abstained from celebrating any marriage, because the fee given upon such occasions 'was a perquisite belonging to the magistrates, which' he 'was not desirous to deprive them of!'

Of the zeal and diligence of the Clergy of N. Caro-

lina, whose names I have given above, the reports which reached the Society in England were uniformly satisfactory; and a deeper feeling therefore of regret arises, that one of them should afterwards have forfeited his good name at Philadelphia [44].

Rev. John Boyd.

Two more of the N. Carolina Clergy at this time deserve to be named with especial honour, because they had both resided as Laymen for some years in the province, and therefore been eye-witnesses of the evils which then beset the Church. Nevertheless, they came forward with resolute and hopeful spirit to encounter them, and were admitted into the ranks of her ordained Missionaries. The first of these, John Boyd, received from the Bishop of London authority to enter upon his arduous work in 1732; and the manner in which he discharged his duties in Albemarle County until his death six years afterwards, proved how fitly it had been conferred upon him.

Rev. Clement Hall.

The other, Clement Hall, pursued a yet more distinguished course, and for a longer period. He had formerly been in the commission of the peace for the Colony, and had officiated, for several years, as Lay reader, in congregations which could not obtain the services of an ordained minister. The testimony borne to him in the letters which he took with him to England, in 1743, from the Attorney-General, Sheriffs, and Clergy of the province, was amply verified by the zeal and piety with which he afterwards fulfilled the labours of his Mission. Although chiefly confined to Chowan County, it was extended at stated periods to three others; and the

[44] See p. 269, *ante*.

number and variety of his services may be learnt in some degree from one of his earliest reports, from which it appears that he had preached 16 times, and baptized above 400 children and 20 adults within three weeks. But the mere recital of numbers would describe very imperfectly the amount of labour involved in such visitations. The distance and difficulties of the journeys which they required must also be taken into account; and, in the case of Hall, the difficulties became greater through his own weakness of health. No sooner did he end one visitation than he made preparation for another; and, except when sickness laid him prostrate, his work ceased not for a single day. In the face of much opposition and discouragement, he still pressed onward; and, in many places, was cheered by the eager sympathy of the people. The Chapels and Courthouses were seldom large enough to contain half the numbers who flocked together to hear him. Sometimes the place of their solemn meeting was beneath the shades of the forest; at other times, by the river side, or upon the sea shore, the work of truth and holiness was permitted to "have free course and be glorified." A summary of the labours of Clement Hall, made about eight years after he had entered upon them, shows that, at that time (1752), he had journeyed about 14,000 miles, preached nearly 700 sermons, baptized more than 6000 children and grown-up persons (among whom were several hundred Negroes and Indians), administered the Lord's Supper frequently to as many as 2 or 300 in a single journey, besides performing the countless other offices of visiting the sick, of churching of women, and of catechising the young, which he was every where

His extensive services.

careful to do. Each year added to his labours; and at length, in 1755, finding his strength ready to fail, he applied to be relieved from the distracting cares of an itinerant Mission, and to be appointed to St. Paul's Parish. The Society cheerfully granted his request; and, hearing soon afterwards, that he had suffered the loss of the greater part of his property by fire, voted him forthwith a grant of money and a new library for the use of the Mission. The temporal aid, indeed, thus given, is to be regarded rather as an index of the Society's good-will towards him than any adequate acknowledgment of his services. For the above-named gratuity was not more than £30; and his annual stipend from the Society at no time exceeded the same amount. To eke out this meagre provision, it was not likely that much should have been received from the inhabitants of the Colony. And the conclusion seems inevitable, that, in addition to the toil of mind and body bestowed so unceasingly by this faithful servant of God upon the work of his Mission, he must have freely supplied also from his own resources the greater part of the temporal means which were needed for the prosecution of it. In weariness and painfulness, yet with faith and hope unbroken, he persevered unto the end; and, at the expiration of four years after his appointment to St. Paul's, worn out with sickness and hard toil, Clement Hall closed, in the bosom of an affectionate and grateful people, a career of pious usefulness which has been rarely, if ever, equalled[45].

The Tuscarora Indians.

In N. as well as in S. Carolina, the preaching of the Gospel to Indian

[45] Humphreys, 128—133; Hawkins, 64–89; Hewitt, i. 55—316.

tribes was, from the outset, an appointed portion of the Missionary's work; and, in both provinces, the work was hindered, and for a time made ineffectual, through the oppressive treatment of the Indians by the English Planters. Their gradual encroachments upon the Indian hunting grounds, and other like acts of provocation, forced the Tuscarora and chief northern tribes to league together, as the Yammasees and other neighbouring tribes of the south had done, and with an effect hardly less disastrous. Fortifying their chief town with a wooden breastwork, they contrived to meet and form, with uninterrupted secrecy, their murderous plans; and, at the time agreed upon, 1200 of their bowmen issued forth, and spread terror and death among the English settlements. They were promptly met, indeed, as the Yammasees had been, by the militia forces sent against them by the Governor, and more than 1000 Tuscaroras are said to have perished or been captured in the expedition[46]. But what hope was there that the voice of any Christian preacher should be heard amid such miserable scenes of strife and havoc?

Georgia.

The notice of Carolina necessarily connects itself with that of Georgia, the last of the British Colonies established in N. America. The necessity of protecting the southern border of Carolina from any attack of the Spaniards in Florida, or of the French on the Mississippi, by occupying the territory still vacant within its chartered limits,

[46] The remnant of the Tuscaroras fled for refuge to the Five Nations (see p. 296, *ante*), and, having been received into confederacy with them, were called the Sixth Nation. This fact accounts for the Indians in question being called sometimes the Five, and at other times the Six, Nations. Holmes, ii. 69—71.

between the rivers Alatamaha and Savannah, was one of the chief reasons which induced the British government to entertain the project of the settlement. But other motives influenced the humane and earnest-minded men who where its promoters. They believed, that, by the establishment of such a Colony as they meditated, a safe and prosperous asylum might be provided for many of their own poor and distressed countrymen and for the persecuted Protestants of Europe. *Non sibi, sed aliis*, the motto affixed to their common Seal, avowed the disinterested nature of their enterprise; and the character of the men engaged in it was a pledge that the avowal was sincere. General Oglethorpe, their leader, had long been distinguished for the benevolent zeal with which, as a member of the House of Commons, he had sought to alleviate the burden of the imprisoned debtor;—a work begun, as we have seen, by the earliest supporters of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, and in later years carried on over a wider field, and with success more signal, by the illustrious Howard[47]. Descended from an ancient family, and inheriting with their name that love for the monarchy, in defence of which some of them had perished in the field of battle; trained first at the University of Oxford, and next in the profession of arms,—the fellow-traveller and friend of Berkeley[48],—and afterwards the upright and diligent senator,—Oglethorpe directed the resources of his enlarged experience, his time, his strength, his fortune, to the relief of the many persons who were, at that time, pining and perishing

Causes of its settlement.

General Oglethorpe.

[47] Vol. ii. 569, 570.

[48] See p. 340, *ante*.

amid the gloomiest horrors of prison. The Committee of Inquiry into their condition, appointed by the House of Commons in 1728, was the effect of Oglethorpe's motion; and the Report, drawn up by him as its chairman, proved the ability and zeal with which he had directed its labours. But he stopped not there. From the dark and pestilential jails of England, Oglethorpe looked abroad for some spot which might afford shelter and support to those whom he was resolved to free; and such a spot he believed might be found upon the shores of the Savannah. His fellow-labourers in this work of benevolence, were of one heart and mind with himself. A Charter was applied for and obtained from George II., in 1732, constituting, within the limits already mentioned, the settlement of a Colony to be called Georgia, in honour of the King, and to be governed by a Corporation of 21 Trustees, whose duties and powers it defined. Lord Percival was its President; and Oglethorpe, one of the Trustees, undertook, in person, to conduct thither the first band of 116 settlers, who embarked towards the end of the same year at Gravesend. The estimate formed in England of the enterprise, and of the motives of those who conducted it, may be learnt from the many free-will offerings given by private individuals, and from the grant of £10,000 which the House of Commons made at the same time in aid of it[49]. And that this was no transient burst of sympathy, but the earliest expression of those feelings of respect and admiration which continued to be shared throughout the land, may be inferred from the eulogy on Oglethorpe which occurs in Pope's Imita-

Parliamentary Grant.

[49] See p. 368, *ante*.

tion of the Second Epistle of Horace, published five years afterwards. The poet, who could lash, with such merciless and constant rigour, the vices and follies of his age, rejoiced to honour the man of generous and noble purpose; nor could he display that purpose in action more vividly than by describing it to be the energy of one who,

> driv'n by strong benevolence of soul,
> Shall fly, like Oglethorpe, from pole to pole.

A Thanksgiving Sermon, on account of the safe voyage of Oglethorpe and his followers, was preached at Charleston by Mr. Jones, on the Sunday after their arrival, and another on the same day at Beaufort by Dr. Herbert, who had accompanied the expedition. A few more days saw Oglethorpe upon the high bluffs of the Savannah, marking out the site and limits of the town of the same name which now stands upon them. Through the friendly offices of an Indian woman who had married a trader from Carolina, Oglethorpe soon held a conference with the leaders of the various tribes of the Creek Indians, and Tomochichi, their chief. The interview of Penn with the Indians at Shakamaxon[50], which the pencil of the great painter of America has made so celebrated, and thereby cast a brighter glory upon the chief actor in the scene, did not bear more signal testimony to the humane and equitable spirit with which he sought to protect the native tribes among whom he was about to establish a new Colony, than that now furnished in the conference by Oglethorpe with the Indians of the south. A fair treaty was concluded between him and them. The territory which it defined was purchased, and

[50] Vol. ii. 428.

Tomochichi and his Queen accompanied Oglethorpe to England. The generous reception which they met with led the Indian chief, as soon as he returned among his countrymen, to persuade them to rely with entire confidence upon the good faith of the English settlers. Before Oglethorpe's departure, a second town called Augusta, 150 miles up the river, had been laid out; a third, bearing the name of Frederica, was raised on St. Simon's Island; and many hundreds of English and Scotch and German settlers were soon added to the population of Georgia. Among them was a body of emigrants from Saltzburgh, in Bavaria, who had been expelled thence, with many thousands of their countrymen, on account of their adherence to the Reformed religion. These faithful exiles were welcomed, in their march through Germany, with tokens of affectionate sympathy, and many of them found a home in the Prussian states. The contributions in England for their relief amounted to £33,000, part of which was applied, by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, to defray the charges of their subsistence and journey from Ratisbon and Augsburgh to Rotterdam, and thence to London; and the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge provided for 200 who wished to proceed to Georgia the means of free transport to that country. It also supported their Schools until the end of the Revolutionary War[51]. In 1735-6, Oglethorpe, having obtained fresh grants from Parliament, came out with more settlers, and carefully watched over the Colony which he had planted; guard-

Early progress of the Colony.

[51] Southey's Wesley, i. 86, 87; Hawkins, 91; Jackson's Introduction to the Journal, &c. of C. Wesley, xxvii. xxxiii.

ing it from apprehended attacks of the Spaniards by the erection of forts, and regulating its internal affairs in strict obedience to the Charter and to the rules laid down by the Trustees for its enforcement.

Tenure of lands.

These differed, in many important points, from the laws of other Colonies. To prevent large portions of land from falling into the hands of a few, the Trustees assigned, only in tail male, to each settler, about 25 acres of land, which, upon its termination, were to revert to them for redistribution. The widows were to retain for their lives the dwelling-house and half the lands belonging to their husbands; and, in the redistribution of the lands, especial care was to be paid to the interest of the unmarried daughters of those who had improved their several lots. Each lot was regarded as a military fief, for which the possessor was to appear in arms when called upon; and, should it not be fenced, cleared, and cultivated, within 18 years from the time of its allotment, it was to revert to the Trustees.

The introduction of slaves and the importation of rum or other ardent spirits were forbidden to every settler; and, in order to check misconduct towards the Indians, no person was allowed to trade with them except under a licence.

The introduction of slaves, and the importation of rum forbidden.

It was more easy to applaud the benevolent purpose of such laws, than effectually to secure obedience to them. A discontented spirit soon broke out among the European settlers, who clamoured for the assistance of Negro labour and the stimulus of spirituous drink. Exposed as they were to the heat of a scorching sun, or soaked with the moisture of thick and pestilential fogs, how

Discontents in the Colony.

could it be expected, they asked, that, by their unassisted strength, they should clear and drain a country covered with forest and morass? What profit could be derived from lands, of which the tenure was made so precarious by the conditions annexed to it? Emigrants to other provinces were free from such conditions; and why should Georgia be clogged with them? Let the land be granted in fee simple, as it was to their Carolinian neighbours, and let the effects of an enervating climate be relieved by the help which slaves only could give, and the benefits held out to the settlers might yet be realised. Whilst petitions to this effect were urged on one side, the Highland Colonists, on the other, remonstrated to a man against the introduction of slavery in any shape, upon the general ground of their abhorrence of it, and from a belief that their contiguity to the Spanish Colonies might tempt the Negroes to go over and conspire with them against the British interests. Finding no redress for their grievances, the discontented settlers attempted to gain by clandestine means the relief which they coveted, or, failing thus to obtain it, gave up their lands and went elsewhere.

Causton, Oglethorpe's agent.

Other causes aggravated the difficulties of Georgia; and, among the most prominent was the conduct of Causton, an agent of Oglethorpe. The people complained of him as proud, covetous, and cruel, sending whom he pleased to the stocks, or whipping-post, or log-house, and making his own will and pleasure the sovereign law. The hope of improvement, held out by the arrival of Gordon as chief magistrate, soon vanished; for Causton contrived to get rid of his controul by refusing him provisions from the store; and obstructed the exercise of every

other authority within the province, except his own, until the return of Oglethorpe in 1736. No public investigation of the charges against Causton appears to have been made; and it is difficult to understand upon what ground, except that of his full acquital of them, his retention in any office could have been justified [52].

The name of Causton is soon again forced upon our attention in connexion with events which strangely affected the fortunes of the infant church in Georgia. Oglethorpe, upon his arrival in the Colony, we have seen, had been accompanied by a Clergyman, Dr. Herbert; and another, Samuel Quincy, had been sent out, upon the recommendation of the Trustees, with a yearly salary of £50 from the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. Some such arrangement might have been looked for as in accordance with the avowed purposes of the Society; and it was now carried into effect more promptly, by reason of the support which Oglethorpe, upon every opportunity, extended to the operations of that and of its sister Society. But further spiritual help was required; and, during Oglethorpe's visit to England, a proposal was made to John Wesley, that he should turn his strong energies to the work. The name of Wesley was favourably known to Oglethorpe, by the fame which he and his companions had already acquired, and from the friendly interest which Oglethorpe had long felt in his family. A remarkable proof of this occurs in a letter from Wesley's father to Oglethorpe, upon his first return to England, in which,

The Rev. S. Quincy, a Missionary of S. P. G.

The Rev. John Wesley, his successor.

[52] Hewitt's Carolina, ii. 54—64; Force's Tracts, Vol. i. *in loc.*

amid the 'crowds of nobility and gentry,' who were then 'pouring in their congratulations,' the aged Rector of Epworth begs to offer his 'poor mite of thanks' for the benefits rendered by Oglethorpe to his country at home and abroad, and especially for the 'valuable favours' bestowed upon his third son Charles, whilst a schoolboy at Westminster, and upon himself, when he was 'not a little pressed in the world[53].' He speaks also, in the same letter, of the near completion of his Dissertations on Job, which he was publishing by subscription; and of his hope of being in London, the ensuing spring, 'to deliver the books perfect.' His hope in this respect was not fulfilled. Before the end of the next spring, the elder Wesley died; and John, his second son, went up to London to present the finished volume to Queen Caroline, and gather from other subscribers, among whom Oglethorpe's name appears for the largest amount, the relief needful for his widowed mother in her poverty. Whilst employed upon this work, Dr. Burton, President of Corpus, and one of the Georgia Trustees, who had watched with friendly interest the proceedings of Wesley at Oxford, commended him to Oglethorpe as a man eminently qualified to have spiritual oversight of a new Colony. It was proposed also that his brother Charles should act as Oglethorpe's Secretary. The offer was at first declined; for the acceptance of it seemed inevitably and at once to deprive of her nearest and best supporters, the parent to whose pious nurturing they were both so deeply indebted. But, when the character of the

[53] See Jackson's Introd. to the Journal, &c. of C. Wesley, pp. xxx. xxxi.

work was more fully set before them, and the assurance of their mother was received, saying, 'Had I twenty sons, I should rejoice that they were all so employed, though I should never see them more,' they resolved to undertake it; and embarked with Oglethorpe, at Gravesend, Oct. 13, 1735. Among their companions were two personal friends, Delamotte and Ingham, and 26 Moravians, of whose friendly recognition by the Church of England as fellow-labourers in the wide field of Christian enterprise, I have already spoken[54]. 'Our end in leaving our native country (says John Wesley, in the first entry of his Journal, begun the next day), was not to avoid want (God having given us plenty of temporal blessings), nor to gain the dung or dross of riches or honour; but singly this, to save our souls; to live wholly to the glory of God.' Yet he who expressed such thoughts,—and who can doubt the earnestness and sincerity of purpose with which he cherished them?—had still much to learn of the intricate workings of his own heart and those of others.

The days of a tedious and tempestuous voyage were employed by Wesley, with hardly any other interruption but that of meals, from the hour of four in the morning until ten at night, in private and public prayer, studying the Scriptures, instructing the children, reading to the passengers, and learning the German language. On the 4th of February, they came within sight of land; and the words of the second lesson for that evening (1 Cor. xvi. 9), "A great door and effectual is opened," were carefully noted by Wesley, and followed by the prayer, still extant in his

[54] Vol. i. 347; ii. 460.

Journal, 'O let no one shut it!' Early the next day, Oglethorpe led him and others to a rising ground, where they knelt down and gave thanks; and, as soon as the General had taken boat for Savannah, and the rest of the people had come on shore, Wesley invited them to prayers; and again notes in his Journal the wonderful suitableness of the second lesson for that morning (St. Mark vi.) to the circumstances in which he and his company were placed. The directions of our Lord to the twelve whom He sent forth to preach; the courageous fidelity and sufferings of John the Baptist; the toiling of our Lord's followers at sea, and the deliverance vouchsafed to them in the gracious words, "It is I, be not afraid;" all seemed to enforce with more than ordinary power, the duties of obedience, patience, and trust in God.

Quincy was at Savannah when Wesley arrived, but had intimated to the Trustees his desire to return to England. A Memorial from them had been presented to the Society, while Wesley was upon his voyage, setting forth their consent that Quincy should return, and recommending the appointment of Wesley in his room, at the same stipend. The following entry in the Journal of the Society proves the success of their prayer:

> Jan. 16, 1736. Agreed, that the Society do approve of Mr. Wesley as a proper person to be a Missionary at Georgia, and that fifty pounds per annum be allowed to Mr. Wesley from the time that Mr. Quincy's salary shall cease.

The Journal also of Wesley, March 15, notes the departure of Quincy for Carolina, and his removal that day 'into the Minister's house.' The stipend from the Society, it was Wesley's intention at first to decline: his resolution being (as its Journal declares)

'to receive nothing of any man but food and raiment to put on, and those in kind only, that he might avoid, as far as in him lay, worldly desires and worldly cares; but, being afterwards convinced by his friends that he ought to consider the necessities of his flock as well as his own, he thankfully accepted that bounty of the Society, which he needed not for his own personal subsistence [55].'

His brother Charles accompanies him.

His brother Charles had been sent, a few days before, to Frederica, and, upon the evening of his arrival, gathered the people together for prayers in the open air. Oglethorpe was present; and Charles Wesley, following the example of John, gratefully records, in his Journal, the directions and encouragement supplied in the chapter appointed to be read that evening; "Continue instant in prayer, and watch in the same with thanksgiving; withal praying also for us, that God would open unto us a door of utterance, to speak the mystery of Christ —that I may make it manifest, as I ought to speak. Walk in wisdom toward them that are without, redeeming the time. Let your speech be alway with grace, seasoned with salt, that ye may know how ye ought to answer every man.—Say to Archippus, Take heed to the ministry which thou hast received of the Lord, that thou fulfil it." (Col. iv. 2—6. 17.)

The entry of these and other like passages in his Journal was not always followed by the consistent observance of them. In strong and resolute energy, indeed, Charles Wesley was hardly inferior to his brother. After lying down in a boat that night to snatch a few hours of rest, he is seen, between five

[55] Journal, &c. vii. 261.

and six the next morning, reading prayers to a few persons at the fire, before Oglethorpe's tent, in a hard shower of rain. But, with all this zeal, he was disposed to lord it over his brethren, and make himself the director of their consciences in the minutest transactions of daily life. He tried to force upon them an instant obedience to the literal directions of the Rubric, in matters to which they had been wholly unaccustomed; and this was soon followed by introducing practices for which it gave not any authority at all. The day after he landed, he insisted upon the baptism, by immersion, of all children whose strength could bear it[56]; and, four days afterwards, when the consent, which had been reluctantly given, in one instance, to that mode of baptism, was withdrawn, he baptized, before a numerous congregation, another child by trine immersion. He betrayed, also, an indiscreet love of interfering with the petty jealousies and quarrels between husband and wife, and maid-servant and mistress; and, with more than common readiness to take offence, showed a strange want of tact in pro-

Whose ministry at Frederica is brief and unsuccessful.

[56] He herein followed the example of his brother, who makes this entry in his Journal:—Feb. 21, 1736. 'Mary Welch, aged eleven days, was baptized according to the custom of the first Church, and the rule of the Church of England, by immersion. The child was ill then, but recovered from that hour.' Again, May 5, 'I was asked to baptize a child of Mr. Parker's, second bailiff of Savannah; but Mrs. Parker told me, "Neither Mr. P. nor I will consent to its being dipped." I answered, "If you 'certify that the child is weak, it will suffice (the Rubric says) to pour water upon it.'" She replied, "Nay, the child is not weak, but I am resolved it shall not be dipped." This argument I could not confute, so I went home; and the child was baptized by another person.'

voking it. Before the expiration of the first week, a rough answer from Oglethorpe perplexes and disturbs him; and, instead of being careful to avoid all just causes of annoyance, he contrives, the same day, to 'stumble upon' Oglethorpe again, whilst he 'was with the men under arms, in expectation of an enemy,' and irritates him yet more. His office of Secretary soon proved so distasteful to him, that, after having passed one whole day in writing letters for Oglethorpe, he declares that he 'would not spend six days more in the same manner for all Georgia.' Then followed the signal failure of plans which he had looked upon as powerful aids towards the promotion of piety. Four times a day, the drum beat to prayers; and, as might be expected, the scoffer called it hypocrisy, the careless evaded it, and even the well-disposed were annoyed by this constant interruption of their ordinary and needful work. Symptoms of discontent and turbulence soon spread; and threats of desertion were conveyed to the ears of Oglethorpe. Regarding Charles Wesley as author of all the mischief, he sends for him, and complains, that, instead of cultivating love and meekness and true religion among the people, he disturbed and wearied them with 'mere formal prayers.' 'As to that,' replies Wesley, 'I can answer for them, that they have no more of the form of godliness than the power. I have seldom above six at the public service.' That same evening (March 26), Oglethorpe expressed a willingness to attend the prayers; and, seeing that the people came slowly, Wesley said to him, 'You see, Sir, they do not lay too great a stress on forms.' 'The reason of that' (replied Oglethorpe) 'is, because others idolize them.' Wesley expressed his conviction that few stayed away for that reason; but Oglethorpe

evidently believed him to be deceived. Then follows a series of petty and vexatious annoyances, of which it is difficult to believe that Wesley was right in ascribing them all to Oglethorpe. At one time, he complains of being denied the use of a tea-kettle; at another, that Oglethorpe gave away his bedstead from under him, and refused to spare one of the carpenters to mend him up another. The wretched strifes thus provoked, were suspended for a time by the necessity laid upon Oglethorpe to lead an expedition against the Spaniards; and by a reconciliation between him and Wesley, at an interview which, at Oglethorpe's request, took place at his quarters before his departure. But, upon the return of Oglethorpe,—although no fresh cause of misunderstanding arose,—Wesley felt that his position was a false one; and, having asked and obtained permission to resign it, left Savannah on the 26th of July, little more than four months after his arrival. The words which concluded the second lesson for that day (St. John xiv.), "Arise, let us go hence," are noted in his Journal as aptly marking the conclusion of his stay in Georgia.

The ministry of John Wesley at Savannah equally unsuccessful.

The course pursued, at the same time, by his brother, although of longer duration, was neither characterised by greater wisdom, nor attended with more success. Instead of regarding his people, as he had been advised to do, 'as babes in the progress of their Christian life, to be fed with milk instead of strong meat,' it is not too strong language to say with Southey, that 'he drenched them with the physic of an intolerant discipline[57].' Not content with interpreting in their

[57] Southey's Life of Wesley, i. 96.

strictest sense, and enforcing to their utmost extent, the acknowledged rules of the Church, he drew up others which he believed would bind his people and himself to a stricter and holier course of life; framing them by what he believed to be the model of the primitive Church, and giving to them the name of 'Apostolical Institutions.' But the work of the ministry, at all times arduous, was only made more difficult by such contrivances. Many began to suspect that his aim therein was to enslave the minds and bodies of the people; and complained that the incessant attendance required by him at Meetings and Prayers and Sermons tended to formalism and hypocrisy; that his anathemas and excommunications, and efforts to introduce confession and self-mortifying acts of penance, proved him a Papist at heart; and that, in his usurpation of dominion over the consciences of individuals, he broke up the peace of families [58].

His quarrel with Causton.

Causton at first supported Wesley in all his plans; and the odium already affixed to the one served probably to cast no little discredit upon the other. But soon a feud sprang up between them, which scattered to the winds all hope of Wesley's usefulness in the Colony. Not long after his arrival, Wesley had formed an affection towards the niece of Causton's wife [59], which he believed was returned by her, and hoped might have led to their marriage. The Moravian elders, whom he had strangely enough consulted on the matter, advised him to proceed no further with it; and, whilst he was trying to

[58] Hewitt, ii. 67—75.

[59] Southey, and other biographers of Wesley, speak of her as Sophia Causton, the niece of Causton, but Watson, p. 52, says that she was a Miss Hopkey, niece of Causton's wife.

school himself into a submission to their will, the young lady became the wife of a Mr. Williamson. A few months afterwards, Wesley, discovering, as he believed, something blameable in her conduct, rebuked her. She in return became angry; and he continued the inflexible censor. As she was still a communicant, Wesley thought fit to put in force against her the powers with which he was armed. And, since she had neither signified her intention to be a partaker of the Holy Communion, 'at least some time the day before,' and had not 'openly declared herself to have truly repented' of her fault,—both which acts were required by the letter of the Rubric,—he refused to admit her to the next celebration of the Lord's Supper. A warrant was forthwith issued, and he was brought before the Recorder and magistrates upon the charge, preferred against him by Williamson, of defaming his wife, and repelling her without cause from the Holy Communion. The first charge he denied; and, since the second related to a matter purely ecclesiastical, he refused to acknowledge the authority of a secular court to adjudicate upon it. The prosecution went forward, and the whole Colony took part in the quarrel. The Grand Jury found a true bill; but twelve of their body protested against the indictment as a malicious attempt to traduce the character of Wesley. Month after month elapsed, and courts were held, and calumnious affidavits read; yet no opportunity was afforded him of answering the allegations. Wearied out with these proceedings, and believing that it was his duty not to continue any longer in the province, Wesley proclaimed his intention of leaving it. The magistrates insisted that he should not depart, unless he gave bond and bail to appear in court, when called

upon, to answer the action of Williamson. He flatly refused to give either bond or bail. The magistrates issued a public order to prevent his departure. But Wesley despised the idle menace; and, feeling (as he records in his Journal, Dec. 2, 1737) that 'every day would give fresh opportunity to procure evidence of words' he 'never said, and actions' he 'never did—as soon as evening prayers were over, about eight o'clock, the tide then serving,'—he 'shook off the dust of' his 'feet, and left Georgia, after having preached the gospel there (not as' he 'ought, but as' he 'was able) one year and nine months.'

His ardour and unremitting zeal.

The abortive issue of Wesley's labours (whilst it is another evidence to show the evil of allowing any field of ministerial duty to be removed from the supervision of its lawful rulers) ought not to make us insensible to the ardour and devotion which he then manifested. The same energies, which produced soon afterwards such astonishing effects at home, and the traces of which still exist in every quarter of the world, were, at that hour, in all their freshness and strength within him; and, could they have been turned into a proper channel, must have led on to some great result. At the very time when his disputes with Causton and his family were most likely to have led him to desist, he persevered in the toilsome work of teaching the children; visiting from house to house the English settlers; and conducting, once a week, religious services in their own language among the French settlers at Highgate, and the German settlers at Hampstead,—villages a few miles distant from Savannah. He soon extended the like services to other French families in Savannah; and, on Sundays, his practice was to begin at five o'clock

the first English prayers, which lasted till half-past six. At nine, he read prayers to a few Vaudois in the Italian language. The second service for the English (including the Sermon and Holy Communion) continued from half-past ten till about half-past twelve. The French service began at one. At two, he catechized the children. About three began the English service. After which (to use the language of his Journal), he had 'the happiness of joining with as many as' his 'largest room would hold, in reading, prayer, and singing praise;' and, about six, he attended, 'not as a teacher but a learner,' the service of the Moravians[60]. His ministry, indeed, among the Indians,—which he had vainly thought would be, through their ignorance of the theories and commentaries of man's device, an easy task,—was never even formally begun. And the apparent impossibility of ever being able to enter upon it, is noted by him as a sufficient reason for leaving the Colony[61].

His visits to Carolina.

Wesley repaired twice to Charleston, during his stay in Georgia; once, when he accompanied his brother so far homeward, and, again, a few months later, when he went to entreat Garden, the Bishop of London's Commissary, to restrain the practices of a Clergyman in that province, who was in the habit of marrying, without either banns or licence, several of Wesley's Parishioners. Upon the first of these visits, Wesley preached and assisted in the celebration of the Holy Communion in St. Philip's Church at Garden's request, and remarks in his Journal the presence of several Negroes among the congregation. Upon the second visit, when he obtained from

[60] Wesley's Journal, Oct. 15—30, 1737. [61] Ib. Oct. 7.

Garden an assurance that the irregularities which he complained of should cease, Wesley again preached; and, on his return, met the Clergy of Carolina at their Annual Visitation, 'among whom,' he adds, 'in the afternoon, there was such a conversation for several hours on "Christian Righteousness," as he had not heard at any Visitation, or hardly on any other occasion.' He speaks also in grateful terms of the kind and generous conduct of Garden [62].

Assistance from Dr. Bray's Associates.

Soon after Wesley's arrival in Georgia, he received, for the benefit of himself and his successors, a Parochial Library from Bray's Associates [63]; and, in the letter acknowledging its receipt, is given an account of the manner in which he and an Assistant Catechist instructed the children of whom they had charge.

Subsequent connexion of Wesley with America.

The connexion of Wesley with America did not cease with his departure from the latest of her British Colonies. The work which he carried on, for more than fifty years afterwards, with such wonderful success, in England, was renewed, with not less zeal, in Pennsylvania, Virginia, Maryland, and New York. Its progress, indeed, was hindered for a time by the Revolutionary War; and a large share of the odium and persecution with which the Clergy were then visited, fell also upon the Methodists [64]. Wesley's 'Calm Address to the Americans,' in which he advocated with his usual power principles unwelcome to a large majority of the Colonists, excited strong resentment against him and his followers on either side of the Atlantic. But, as

[62] Ib. April 17—22, 1737. [63] Ib. Jan. 31.

[64] See pp. 161. 218, *ante*.

soon as peace was restored, and the preachers of the Methodist connexion,—among whom Francis Asbury was the most conspicuous,—were again permitted to appear abroad in safety, Wesley was induced to take the only step which was then wanting to place him and his followers in open schism with the Church of England. He still declared himself indeed a 'Presbyter' of that Church; and the people in America, who desired to continue under his care, still professed, he said, to 'adhere to' her 'doctrine and discipline.' But, because she had no Bishops in her Colonies, and the Clergy were now scattered abroad, leaving their flocks without spiritual aid; and because there did 'not appear to be any other way of providing them with ministers;' therefore Wesley thought himself 'to be providentially called to set apart some persons for the work of the ministry in America,'—in other words, to set up Bishops of his own creation. This constitutes the whole of his attempted justification of the act, in the formal instrument, drawn up at Bristol under his 'hand and seal,' Sept. 2, 1784, wherein he declares that he had that day 'set apart, as a Superintendent, by the imposition of' his 'hands and prayers (being assisted by other ordained ministers), Thomas Coke, Doctor of Civil Law, a Presbyter of the Church of England,—as a fit person to preside over the flock of Christ.' In a letter addressed, a few days afterwards, to Coke, Asbury, and others in America, he declares that he had appointed Asbury to the same office with Coke, and gives some further reasons for this step; alleging his belief that the order of Bishop and Presbyter was identical; and that, although his determination 'as little as possible, to violate the established

He takes upon himself to appoint Superintendents, or Bishops.

order of the National Church to which' he 'belonged,' had led him hitherto to refuse to ordain 'part of' their 'travelling preachers' in England, yet in the widely different case of America his 'scruples' were 'at an end,' and he 'considered that he violated no order, and' invaded 'no man's right, by appointing and sending labourers into the harvest.' He admits, indeed, that a proposal had been made among them 'to desire the English Bishops to ordain part of' their 'preachers for America. But to this' he objected, because he had already failed, in one instance, to induce the Bishop of London to do so; because, even if the Bishops consented to ordain their preachers, the necessity of the case would not admit of the delay which would probably follow; and, lastly, because the Bishops would expect to govern those whom they ordained;—a restraint to which he could not submit. Such pleas might have been urged by one who had formally disavowed the authority of, and openly separated from communion with, the Church of England. But who must not feel that they were utterly at variance with the professions which Wesley continued to make? What did it avail him to say, that he had long been convinced by Lord King's account of the primitive Church, 'that Bishops and Presbyters were the same order, and consequently had the same right to ordain,' if the Church, of which he acknowledged himself to be a Presbyter, to the doctrine and discipline of which he and his followers professed to adhere, and which he, in the same letter, confessed to be 'the best constituted National Church in the world,' plainly and publicly declared her belief, in the Preface to 'the Form and Manner of making, ordaining, and consecrating of Bishops, Priests, and

His reasons for that act.

Deacons,'—set forth in her Book of Common Prayer, —'that, from the Apostles' time, there have been these orders of Ministers in Christ's Church?' His plea was contradicted by the act which he rested upon it. For, if Bishops and Presbyters were one, what need of a solemn and special service of prayer, and the imposition of his hands and that of others, when Dr. Coke was set apart to the office whereunto Wesley had called him? Was not Coke, by virtue of his ordination to the priesthood, as good a Bishop as Wesley himself? And, if he were not, what became of King's argument? The spiritual destitution, indeed, of the provinces, now erected into independent States, was sore and lamentable; and some of his followers had already sought to relieve it, by electing three of their brethren to ordain others by imposition of hands. But Asbury had resisted this proceeding; and the Conference in America, acting under his direction, had pronounced the ordination to be unscriptural. Yet Wesley could furnish no better authority than they had done for attempting the self-same act. The necessity of the case was urgent, and he thought himself, he says, 'to be providentially called' to meet it in the way proposed. But, if he were allowed to do so, why should the liberty have been denied to his disciples beyond the Atlantic? Well might Asbury, as we learn from Coke's Journal that he did,—upon opening the document which invested him with powers which he had been the first to deny to others,—express 'strong doubts respecting it.' Well might Charles Wesley, speaking of his brother's conduct in this matter, describe it as a 'rash action, into' which he had been surprised; and other influential members of the connexion be amazed and confounded at a pro-

ceeding, which so directly contradicted the former protestations of their leader. The step, however, was irrevocable. The itinerant preachers, who met Coke upon his arrival at New York, accepted the plan marked out by Wesley. In Delaware, Coke first met with Asbury; and, at a Conference held next Christmas-eve at Baltimore, the plan was formally approved; the name of Superintendent was exchanged for that of Bishop; the belief that Bishops and Presbyters were the same order ceased to be proclaimed; the Methodist Episcopal Church in America was formally constituted; and Asbury, whose doubts upon the point had now been removed, was invested, by a form of consecration like that which had been observed in the case of Coke at Bristol, with the authority of one of its Bishops[65].

The conduct of Wesley in this matter traceable to the absence of Bishops in the Colonies.

Whatsoever opinion may be formed of Wesley's conduct upon this occasion, it is clear that the only ground, upon which he pretended to justify it, would have been taken away, if Bishops had been found in America, governing its Churches. In England, he avowedly refrained from any such usurpation of their office, because there they discharged its duties. In America, he no longer scrupled to appoint and send labourers into its wide harvest field, because they who claimed the exercise of that authority were no where to be seen within its borders. It was an impatience like that manifested by Talbot sixty years before, who, eager to apply the remedy which, above all others, was required for the evils which he then witnessed in the

[65] Watson's Life of Wesley, 362—378; Southey's do., ii. 416—450; Whitehead's do., ii. 416—419; Bp. Wilberforce's History, &c. 178—180.

British Colonies, sought and received consecration to the Episcopal office at the hands of the Non-juring body. The divisions of the Church would have been multiplied, and her trials at home and abroad aggravated, had the intrusion of Talbot been continued[66]. But, for him and his coadjutor Welton, the excuse might have been urged, that they received the office of Bishop from the hands of Bishops; whereas the delegation of the same office to others by Wesley was simply the act of his own confident will, in direct opposition to doctrine and discipline which he professed to reverence[67]. In both cases, whatsoever the evils of the schism, the pretext for creating it, I repeat, would have been removed, had the unjust policy of denying Bishops to Colonial Churches not been pursued.

The impulse given to the exertions of the Wesleyan body by the new framework of government now set up among its members in America, was felt in every direction; and, in Georgia, as well as in other places, it was proposed, in memory of Wesley's early connexion with that province, to erect and endow a College to be called after his name. This scheme was not carried into effect; but the mention of it may bring back our thoughts to some of the chief points of interest connected with the history of that Colony, after Wesley's departure from it.

Whitefield goes out to Georgia in 1738.

I have already glanced at one of the most important of these, the arrival of Whitefield in the province[68] early in the

[66] See pp. 240, 241, *ante*.

[67] See the remarks on Wesley's conduct in this matter by Jones of Nayland, in his Life of Bp. Horne. Horne's Works, i. 162—166.

[68] Vol. ii. 528.

year 1738. He came out, on the recommendation of the Trustees, with the concurrence of Bishop Gibson and Archbishop Potter, and laboured at Savannah, for three months, with a success equal to his diligence. On Sundays, his habit was to read prayers and expound one of the lessons for the day at five in the morning; again, at ten and three o'clock, he read prayers and preached; and, at seven in the evening, he expounded the Catechism to large congregations, chiefly composed of servants. His ministrations during the week were the reading prayers in public twice every day, and visiting from house to house throughout the Parish, with especial attendance on the sick, and catechising of the young. Besides which, there was a gathering of the people thrice a week at his own house, to whom he read prayers [69]. Perfect harmony seems to have subsisted between Whitefield and his people; and, but for the necessity of returning to England for admission into the priesthood, (which he received at the hands of Bishop Benson of Gloucester,) and the hope of obtaining funds for the support of an Orphan-house which he desired to establish in the Colony, he would doubtless have carried on yet further, at that time, the work which he had begun so well.

His diligent ministry.

Upon Whitefield's return to England, he received from the Primate and the Bishop of London, as well as from the Trustees, a hearty approval of his conduct; and, at the request of the magistrates and other inhabitants of Savannah, the Trustees resolved to entrust

His approval by the Trustees, on returning to England.

[69] Extracts from Whitefield's Journal in Southey's Life of Wesley, ii. 226, *note*.

that Parish to his charge, and granted him 500 acres of land for his intended Orphan-house. The brief interval which elapsed before his return to America was one of strong excitement. Devotional exercises, prolonged by him among chosen brethren, sometimes even through the night, and carried on with an extravagance of ardour which amounted almost to madness, inflamed his own spirit to a higher pitch of enthusiasm, and alarmed and offended many who would otherwise have been eager to wish him God speed. Remonstrances and prohibitions served only to make him more resolute in pursuing the course which he had chosen. It was of no avail that pulpits were closed against him; for he was resolved to do what he believed to be the service of his Creator, by taking the hills 'for a pulpit and the heavens for a sounding-board.' The utterance of loud and angry threats of excommunication were equally ineffectual to deter him from his purpose; for he longed for the glories, whilst he defied the pains, of martyrdom. Fresh fuel therefore was heaped up, at every step, to feed the burning fire of his zeal; and, in the darkest recesses of sin and ignorance, its brightness suddenly shone forth. The rude colliers of Kingswood crowded in all their strength to hear him: their hearts melted beneath the fervour of his preaching; their blackened cheeks were streaked with the marks of tears which he drew from their eyes; thousands and thousands more flocked thither to share the same feelings, and join the same services of prayer and praise; they came, far and near, some in coaches, some on horseback; with the rest, who travelled on foot, the ground was covered; even the hedges and trees were full of them; the sound of their loud singing ran from

The effect of his preaching at Kingswood and other places.

one end unto the other of the assembled multitudes; and, when their voices ceased, and the words of the preacher alone were heard among them, their eager looks, their breathless silence, their fast flowing tears, bore witness to the matchless power with which he swayed all their hearts as the heart of one man.

His return to America.

Amid the cries and supplications of the people whom he had thus impressed, Whitefield was constrained to leave them, that he might prosecute his work elsewhere. At Moorfields and Kennington and other places in London and its neighbourhood, the like scenes were exhibited; and, when from these he again turned away for America, it was but to renew in Pennsylvania, where he first landed, and in every other province from New York to Carolina, the same wonderful evidences of the power which he possessed over the minds of his fellowmen.

At the beginning of the year 1740, Whitefield is once more at Savannah, engaged, among other works, in building and organising his Orphan-house, which he framed chiefly after the model of a similar Institution established by Professor Francke at Halle, and to which he gave the name of Bethesda. But it was impossible that the enthusiasm, which had spread like a flame through the cities and provinces of the Old and New World, should remain suddenly pent up within the narrow limits of Georgia. He who had lifted up his voice like a trumpet, and waged uncompromising war against those who filled high places in his native land, was not likely to think his strength fitted to deal only with the lowly settlers of Savannah. It will not excite any surprise therefore to learn, that, from its distant territory, Whitefield looked back eagerly

upon the field of his former triumphs, and challenged fresh enemies to the conflict. His successful warfare had led him to look with overmuch confidence upon the support which he presumed would infallibly be granted to himself, and to assail his opponents with a bitterness of reproach which he lived to regret. Already had he begun to speak of 'such precious communications from his dear' Saviour, that his 'body' could 'scarcely sustain them;'—of his having 'a garden near at hand, where' he went 'particularly to meet and talk with' his 'God, at the cool of every day;'—of his being 'often filled, whilst' he was 'musing, as it were, with the fulness of God;'—and of 'being' frequently at Calvary, and on Mount Tabor; but always assured of 'his Lord's everlasting love.' With these rapturous expressions of triumph, was joined a resolute and joyful defiance of all the tortures which he supposed were in store for him at the hands of persecuting rulers. He was ready (he says) to be 'thrust into an inner prison, and feel the iron entering even into' his 'soul;' to be thrown 'into a fiery furnace, or den of lions;' to 'wade to' his 'Saviour through a sea of blood,—but 'twould be sweet to wear a martyr's crown.'—'Faith in Jesus turns a prison into a palace, and makes a bed of flames become a bed of down[70].'

His conduct there.

Yielding to the impulse of such excited feelings, Whitefield had cast off, as an intolerable yoke, that reverence for the teaching and authority for the Church, to which, but two years before, when he was called to the ranks of her priesthood, he had expressed his entire readiness to submit; and we have seen the determination with which he

[70] Ib. i. 368–370.

resisted the attempt of the Bishop's Commissary at Charleston, Alexander Garden, to restrain him in his devious course. From Wesley had been heard only words of gratitude for the brotherly help which he received from Garden. But Whitefield set at nought all claims of brotherhood. He rushed into Garden's appointed field of duty, not as a friend to counsel him, or a fellow-worker to assist him in bearing his burden, but as an aggressor to impede, and a judge to condemn, the work which Garden had for years been prosecuting. In vain Garden remonstrated, and appealed to that higher authority which it might have been supposed that both were willing to acknowledge. Whitefield retorted upon him, with an indecency which aggravated the asperity of the attack, declaring that "Alexander the coppersmith did" him "much evil[71]." (2 Tim. iv. 14.)

He could not desist for a day from the work of condemning others. In addition to the quarrel which he had stirred up in Carolina, and the controversy which he had at the same time provoked by his assaults on the works of Tillotson, and 'The Whole Duty of Man,'—daring to impugn the authority of writings which had been, and still are, a guide and a solace unto thousands whose intelligence and piety cannot be questioned,—Whitefield was now also rapidly preparing the way towards the breach between Wesley and himself. The disciple of Calvin scornfully refused to tolerate the adoption in any form of any of the doctrines of Arminius; and the friend and counsellor, with whom he had cast in his lot, and cheerfully shared the ridicule and odium which had fallen upon them

[71] Hewitt's Carolina, ii. 169. See also pp. 482, 483, *ante*.

both in the early days of Methodism, was soon regarded as a foe and heretic, with whom it was a crime to hold fellowship. Whitefield also found fresh matter of censure in the laws of the Colony. To prohibit people from holding lands except under the conditions which those laws prescribed, or to require them to carry on the work of cultivation in a hot climate without Negro labour, was little better, he said, than to tie their legs and bid them walk. He maintained that to keep slaves was lawful; else how was the Scripture to be explained which spoke of slaves being born in Abraham's house, or purchased with his money? He denied not that liberty was sweet to those who were born free; but argued that, to those who had never known any other condition, slavery might not be so irksome. The introduction of slaves into Georgia would bring them, he believed, within the reach of those means of grace which would make them partakers of a liberty far more precious than any which affected the body only; and, upon such grounds, he hesitated not to exert himself to obtain a repeal of that part of the Charter which forbade the importation of slaves[72].

His defence of slavery.

Oglethorpe, therefore, had as little reason to be satisfied with the results of Whitefield's residence in the Colony, as he had been with the ministry of Wesley and his brother. Other difficulties also oppressed Oglethorpe. Upon his third visit to Georgia, he was for the most part occupied in conducting military operations against the Spaniards of Florida; and, although the mutinous and ill-supplied troops under his command compelled him, in 1739, to

Difficulties encountered by Oglethorpe.

[72] Southey's Life of Wesley, i. 451 and *note*.

desist from an attempt to besiege St. Augustine, he succeeded, not long afterwards, in making good the defence of his own territory against a very superior force of the Spaniards which attacked it. Grave charges, indeed, of misconduct were brought against Oglethorpe, which, upon his return to England, formed the ground of a court-martial; but their futility was amply proved by his honourable acquittal and the dismissal of his chief accuser from the King's service[73]. Oglethorpe returned no more in person to Georgia; and, in 1752, the Trustees surrendered the Charter of their government to the Crown. But he still retained, through the remainder of a long life,—far longer, indeed, than ordinarily falls to the lot of man,—an affectionate interest for the Colony which he had planted[74].

The death of Whitefield.

Of the rest of Whitefield's career, it falls not within the limits of the present work to add any thing to the notices which have occurred already in the history of other Colonies, further than to say, that, whilst his visits to the Old country, and the work which occupied him

[73] Oglethorpe had to encounter, a second time, in 1746, the ordeal of a court-martial, for alleged want of activity in pursuing the rebel forces; but his honourable acquittal of the charge, and the offer, afterwards made to him (which he declined) of the command of the British army in America, testify that he was again wrongfully accused.

[74] Oglethorpe died in 1785, at the age of 97. Few readers, perhaps, need to be reminded of the friendship between him and Dr. Johnson, originating, as Boswell tells us, in the characteristic benevolence with which Oglethorpe noticed and supported Johnson in his early obscurity and poverty, and continuing long after Johnson had been welcomed to the society of the intelligent and great and wealthy of the land.

there, frequently interrupted the course of his personal ministry on the other side of the Atlantic, his remembrance of the Orphan-house in Georgia never ceased. The death of Whitefield took place, in 1770, after a brief illness, at Newburyport in Massachusetts, during his seventh visit to America, when he was in his fifty-sixth year.

More Missionaries appointed in Georgia.

Meanwhile, upon the recommendation of the Trustees, the Society appointed, in 1740, the Rev. W. Morris to Savannah, and, in 1743, the Rev. Mr. Bosomworth to Frederica. The latter was followed, within two years, by the Rev. Mr. Zouberbugler; and, in 1750, Ottolenghi, a devout Jewish convert, was added as Schoolmaster to the Mission[75].

Gross misconduct of Bosomworth.

Bosomworth was not long afterwards removed from his post for gross misconduct. He had formerly been Chaplain to Oglethorpe's regiment, and, having married the Indian woman, whom Oglethorpe had employed as interpreter between him and the Creek tribes, was induced by her to lend himself to a plot which she, with equal cunning and boldness, had contrived, for seizing upon the English possessions. Claiming to be descended from a chief of the Creek tribes, she declared herself to be an independent queen, whose right over the hunting-lands formerly allotted to her people was superior to that of any other occupants. To enforce this right, she suddenly appeared at the head of a large number of Indian warriors, with her husband, dressed in his robes, by her side, and demanded a formal surrender of the lands. The English, taken by

[75] Hawkins, 100.

surprise, were for a time in imminent peril. At length, having contrived to seize Bosomworth and the pretended queen, and receiving the succour of fresh troops, the Governor disarmed the most formidable, and persuaded the rest of the Indians to return to their settlements [76]. Bosomworth and his wife still continued refractory, and were kept close prisoners; but, having been prevailed upon by his brother, who was agent for Indian affairs in Carolina, to give up their claims, and ask pardon publicly of the magistrates and people, they were allowed to go free. The scandal, however, created by an English Clergyman could not be removed as easily as had been the danger in which he had sought to involve his countrymen.

The Rev. Jonathan Copp at Augusta.

Augusta was not supplied with a permanent Missionary, until 1750, when Jonathan Copp, who brought with him from Yale College, of which he was a graduate, a high reputation for piety and attainments, was sent out by the Society, and, in the face of many difficulties and dangers, discharged his duties there. He was removed afterwards to St. John's, Colleton, in S. Carolina; and his subsequent election to the Rectorship of that Parish, proves that he acquired and retained the confidence of his people [77].

Georgia divided into eight Parishes. The services of Frinck

In 1758, Georgia was divided by an Act of Assembly into eight Parishes, and an annual stipend of £25 sterling was allowed to the Clergy officiating in each. But

[76] Hewitt, ii. 150—164.

[77] Hawkins, 100, and Dalcho, 361. Quincy, the predecessor of Wesley at Savannah, had also gone to St. John's, Carolina. Dalcho, ib.

and Ellington.

the only two Churches which, in 1769, could be found in Georgia, 150 miles from each other, showed of how little avail were such enactments, as long as there appeared not any leader to give effect to them. At Savannah, Augusta, and Frederica, the ordinances of the Church were seldom intermitted, except in cases of sickness, or unavoidable absence; and, here and there, throughout the province, were scattered several families, who rejoiced to observe them in such measure as they were able, and invited their neighbours to bear a part in the same offices of prayer and praise. Samuel Frinck also and Edward Ellington,—the most distinguished of the Georgia Missionaries,—were faithful and laborious men, on whose part no exertion was wanting to supply the spiritual destitution which prevailed. The practice of Ellington was to leave Augusta on the Monday, and, after accomplishing a journey of 40 miles, to celebrate divine service on the three following days, at three places distant ten miles from each other; and to devote the two last days of the week to the work which demanded his attention at home. After the lapse of two years, he removed from Augusta, to take charge of Whitefield's Orphan-house, having received from him the expression of his wish that its religious services should be conducted in strict conformity with the Liturgy of the Church of England, and that a Clergyman should preside over it. This communication was made to Ellington only a few months preceding the death of Whitefield, and argues a remarkable change either in the sentiments of Whitefield, or in the manner in which his views were carried into effect. For, not two years before, the Society had received a letter from Frinck,—who

had been Ellington's predecessor at Augusta, and was afterwards removed to Savannah,—in which he complained that Whitefield had done more mischief in Georgia by the disorder and confusion which he had created, than he could undo in three centuries; and that, wheresoever he went, he waged war with the Church of England, publicly condemning her Clergy, stirring up the people against them, and making his Orphan-house a nest for her enemies. Frinck had been himself brought up in the ranks of the Nonconformists; but, following the example of the men of Connecticut, spoken of in the preceding chapter, was now among the most devoted ministers of the Church which his fathers had forsaken[78].

It were needless to relate the events of the next few years, which led to the separation of Georgia from England; for they were but a renewal of scenes exhibited in every other Colony of North America, during the Revolutionary struggle. The condition, indeed, of our National Church in this province was weaker than in any other; and the destruction of its temporal framework therefore the more easy. But here, as elsewhere, the spirit that was lodged within it outlives its overthrow, and imparts to later generations, with sustained and well-directed energy, the blessing withheld from its first irregular and desultory efforts.

The West Indies.

The notice to be taken of some of the Islands of the West Indies, before this Volume is concluded, must be very brief. I have described already the hindrances which, from the earliest period of their subjection to British rule, ob-

[78] Hawkins, 101—105.

structed the ministrations of the Church in these Islands; the manner in which the efficacy of Episcopal jurisdiction was impaired even by the attempts of Colonial Assemblies to remove those difficulties; the efforts which the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel made, at the outset of its career, to promote, in Jamaica, Antigua, and Montserrat, the great cause which it professed to serve; and the assistance given towards the same end, by the Clergy and Lay-members of the Church residing in those and in other Islands [79].

Codrington College in Barbados.

I call attention, in the present part of the work, to these facts, for the purpose of tracing the effects which, in one remarkable instance, have followed them,—I mean the foundation of Codrington College in Barbados. The distinguished officer, after whom it is called, died, as I have said, in 1710 [80], leaving in Barbados two Estates,

[79] Vol. ii. 477—504. 692—699.

[80] Ib. 463. In the brief sketch there given of General Codrington and his family, I have mentioned his benefactions to All Souls, Oxford, and the removal of his remains to the chapel of that College in 1716. The oration made upon that occasion by Digby Cotes, Public Orator and Fellow of All Souls, alludes, in felicitous and forcible terms, to the fact of Codrington's piety and munificence being extended alike to the Old and New World:—'Magnum quidem, Codringtone, et unicè tuum est, in ultimos Eois Occidentisque quà sol uterque illustrat fines, munificentiam diffundere; terris ethnicâ ignorantiâ et caligine obrutis Evangelii lucem ostendere; Musisque quasi spiritum et vitam, patriamque novam ostendere; dissitissima loca liberalitate conjungere; efficereque ut utriusque Hemisphærii incolæ, et tam barbari quàm politiorum artium studiosi, uno ore, variis licet dissonisque linguis, laudes tuas concelebrarent.'

The notices of Codrington College by the late and present Bishops of Barbados, (whence I have taken the above passage,)

—the Upper, which bore his own name, and the Lower that of Consett,—in trust to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, for the purpose of erecting, maintaining, and governing a College for 'a convenient number of Professors and Scholars,' who should 'be obliged to study and practise Physick and Chirurgery, as well as Divinity, that, by the apparent usefulness of the former to all men, they might both endear themselves to the people, and have the better opportunity of doing good to men's souls whilst taking care of their bodies.' The Society accepted the trust; but several years were employed in settling various claims upon the property; and the building of the College was not completed until 1743. Meanwhile, the consideration of the best means to be employed in furtherance of the design appears, from its Reports and Anniversary Sermons, to have been constantly before the Society. Good Bishop Wilson, ever foremost in extending the work of truth and holiness at home or abroad, had, with a deep consciousness of the necessity of providing some such Institution, already proposed to the Society a scheme 'for educating young persons within the Isle of Man, in order to be sent abroad for the propagation of the Gospel.' And, could the difficulties and delays, which afterwards arose in Barbados, have been foreseen, the Society would probably have adopted it. But the Report for 1711-12, states that the Society had 'waived the acceptance of Bishop

Its design.

Entrusted to the care of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel.

supply also another panegyric upon Codrington's character from the exquisite Latin verses of Addison, written by him in commemoration of the peace of 1697, and now found in Addison's Works, i. 399.

Wilson's proposal, upon a prospect that General Codrington's College might be a more convenient seat and seminary, to provide for the education of scholars, and the supply of ministers for those parts.' The Report also for 1714 enumerates several benefactions received in England and Barbados towards the erection of the building. Soon after its completion, a Grammar School was opened, 'with twelve Scholars for the foundation, to be maintained and instructed at the expense of the Society,' with the view of their becoming 'good and useful Missionaries.' The foundation scholars were increased, in the next few years, to eighteen; and twenty or other scholars not on the foundation were added to them. Around this small nucleus, fresh materials of usefulness might have been gathered, and important results looked for; but a long season of trial was to be passed through, before such anticipations were realised. In 1780, a fearful hurricane laid waste the buildings and other property of the College; and, for several years, the Estates did not yield sufficient income to pay their current expenses. But, as soon as circumstances allowed it, the charge of instructing a smaller number of boys was renewed under a Catechist at the mansion house on the Upper Estate.

Its Grammar School.

Its slow progress.

Its subsequent career.

And here, if I restricted my notice of Codrington College to the period of time observed in preceding portions of this Volume, I should be compelled to leave it at a most unfavourable crisis of its affairs. I shall venture, therefore, to allude briefly to its later history, as a witness to prove that present difficulties should never tempt us to desist from any needful work which we believe to be based upon right principles, and conducted by

right means. What could be more discouraging than the prospects of Codrington College, when, in 1789, Husbands, its faithful Catechist, attempted to renew, upon a limited scale, the work which, even in earlier days, had been but feebly and partially begun? Fourscore years had almost passed away since the death of its pious founder; the only representative at that time of the National Church in the British Colonies had promptly undertaken to give effect to his wishes; there had been no lack of energy or zeal in the execution of this trust; and yet, how miserable was the result! In Barbados, the majority of Planters cared nothing for the success of the design; some even rejoiced in its apparent failure. In England, the signs of sympathy on its behalf were not a whit more numerous or more cheering. Nevertheless, at home and in the Colony, there were still a faithful few, resolute in the path of duty. The Society ceased not, in the darkest and most trying hour, to hold fast its trust; and, when the hope of repairing the dismantled buildings and restoring the works upon its distant estates seemed well-nigh gone, a courageous and devoted inhabitant of the Island, John Brathwaite, came to the rescue, undertaking to retrieve the ruined property, and to secure to the Society an annual rent of £500 sterling. He accomplished his noble purpose, and much more; for, at the end of ten years, he had not only paid punctually the promised rent, and given up the Estates again into the hands of the Society, in perfect order and free from all encumbrance, but, with them, the entire surplus profit which he had derived from his persevering labour, amounting to £3500. The College also was repaired,

Its difficulties

Valuable services of John Brathwaite.

Increase of

the Grammar School.

and eighteen scholars were entered upon the foundation of its Grammar School in 1797, under the Rev. Mark Nicholson, and his Assistant, Mr. Moody. Nicholson was succeeded, in 1822, by one who now deservedly holds high authority in the Church at home, Dr. Hinds, Bishop of Norwich; and, in 1829, the Grammar School was removed to Chaplain's Lodge, on the Upper Plantation, and confided to the care of the Rev. John Packer, the Chaplain[81]; whilst, at the same time, the College was placed on the academical footing originally contemplated by its Founder, and opened, under the superintendence of the Rev. J. H. Pinder, as a place of education for young men, natives of, or residents in, the West Indies, especially with a view to Holy Orders[82].

The Rev. J. H. Pinder, Principal of the College.

Mr. Pinder had gone out to Barbados, in 1818, as Chaplain on the Codrington Trust Estates; and the erection of a Chapel the following year, with a School-house near it, halfway between the two Estates, for the children of the people employed on them, supplied him with fresh facilities, of which he was not slow to avail himself, for maintaining efficiently the spiritual oversight of all entrusted to his charge. From the earliest period of entering upon the duties of its trust, the Society had manifested the greatest care for the Negroes and others belonging to the Estate. Not possessing the power to change their tem-

The Negroes and others on the Codrington Trust Estates always cared for.

[81] The School has of late years been merged in the College.

[82] For the first few months, the lectures of the Principal, and of the Tutor (the Rev. E. P. Smith), were delivered at their private houses, near Bridgetown; but, on the 12th of October, 1830, the College was opened for the reception of students.

poral condition, it did all that could be done to relieve it. The directions given to its first Chaplain, the Rev. Joseph Holt, charged him, 'besides the ordinary duties of a Missionary, to instruct in the Christian religion the Negroes and their children within the Society's plantation, and to superintend the sick and maimed Negroes and servants.' It was also provided that the Negroes should be allowed to work on Saturday afternoons for themselves, in order that they might be able to attend instruction on the Lord's Day. Succeeding Catechists were always charged to be careful in observing the like duties towards the Negro slaves and the children of natives; and, amid all the disputes which arose in earlier years with respect to the property, no opportunity was lost for the promotion of this work [83]. Some of the most promising Negro boys were, in due time, trained to act as teachers among the rest. The like care was never wholly intermitted in the heavy distresses which followed, and was renewed with great success whilst the Estates were under Brathwaite's management. When, therefore, we read of the regular and full attendance of adult Negroes in the Chapel of which Mr. Pinder had charge; of more than 70 of their children being present on the Sunday, and nearly 50 on week-days; of the increase of Communicants, and of the orderly behaviour of all, we see not only the proof of his own zealous and successful ministry among them, but traces also of the care which, for more than a century, had been observed by the Society.

The formal establishment of Codring- Valuable

[83] Reports of S. P. G. 1711—1733. 1740. 1822.

services of Mr. Pinder abroad and at home.

ton College under its first Principal, Mr. Pinder, was one of the earliest benefits which followed the consecration of Bishop Coleridge, in 1824, to the See of Barbados; and the valuable services which its Principal then rendered to the College, and, through it, to the whole Church Colonial, in that quarter of the world, can only be fully appreciated by those,—and they are not a few,—who know the tender solicitude, the unwearied fidelity, the affectionate and watchful care, with which, in the Cathedral city of Wells, he has since been, for many years, and still is, engaged in training up a succession of fresh labourers for the work of the ministry at home. His successors at Barbados have persevered in the course which he began. The paternal sympathy and patient judgment of Bishop Coleridge,—the chief earthly solace and guide of all connected with the College, as long as he remained among them,—are seen also in him who now presides over the Diocese. Students from all the West Indian Dioceses have been received within its walls; some from Bermuda and New Brunswick; others from England itself; and those among them who have been ordained are, for the most part, making "full proof" of their "ministry" among the British possessions in the West; whilst some, who, from ill health or other causes, have settled in England, are still, in their own persons, supplying the like evidence to prove that the seed sown, a century and a half ago, in the pious resolutions of a British officer, has sprung up, and bears after its own kind a blessed fruit.

Antigua.

The history of Antigua,—which, from the fact of Codrington having been, as his father was, its Governor, seems naturally to connect

itself with the mention of his name,—presents a state of affairs, at the beginning of the last century, injurious to all connected with the Island, and especially to the Church whose ministrations the elder Codrington had laboured to promote. The evil may be traced, in the first instance, to the shameful conduct of Daniel Parke, who, in 1706, succeeded Codrington in the government. The offences of Parke's early life had compelled him to flee from Virginia, the land of his birth, to England, where he purchased an estate in Hampshire, and obtained a seat in Parliament. Not long afterwards, he was expelled the House for bribery; and the provocation of fresh crimes drove him again a fugitive to Holland, where he entered as a volunteer in the army of the Duke of Marlborough, and was made his aide-de-camp. He carried home, in a brief note written upon the field by Marlborough to his Duchess, the first tidings of the victory of Blenheim; and, through the interest which then prevailed at the Court of Anne, obtained the governorship of Antigua. His arbitrary and oppressive conduct in public matters, and the gross licentiousness of his private life, soon stirred up against him the hatred of all classes of its inhabitants. The home government ordered his recall; but he, refusing to obey it, persisted, with arrogant insolence, in his course of tyranny. At length, it could be endured no longer; and, on the morning of the 7th of December, 1710, a body of 500 men, with members of the Assembly at their head, marched to the Government House, determined to drive him from it by force. The orders of Parke that they should disperse, and the attempts of his enemies to negotiate, were alike

Influences adverse to the Church.

Governor Parke.

fruitless. The attack was made, and resisted with equal violence by the soldiers and others whom Parke had summoned to his aid; but the assailants in a few hours conquered, and Parke fell a victim to their fury. It was a lawless punishment of lawless acts, and excited great indignation in England. But the catalogue of Parke's offences had been so enormous, and the effusion of blood would have been so great, had the sentence of capital punishment gone forth against all, or even the leaders, of those who had been concerned in his violent death, that it was judged expedient to issue a general pardon [84].

Discreditable character of some of the Clergy of Antigua.

The power of collating the Clergy to Benefices in the West India Islands was vested, we have seen, in their Governors; and, under such a Governor as Parke had proved himself to be, it was not likely that any care would be taken to secure the services of zealous ministers. The character of some of the Clergy of Antigua, indeed, was a sore reproach; and the fact is forced upon our notice in the course of one of the latest disputes which occurred between Parke and the Colonial Legislature. Having taunted them with not making provision for the payment of the debt upon the Island, he had recommended, in the same message, that they should secure a better maintenance for the Clergy. Whereupon, the House answered, that, if the Island were in debt, an increase in the salaries of the Clergy, beyond the £100 already allowed, could not be expected; and that, even were it practicable, the 'scandalous' conduct of 'too many' among them, at that time, made it inexpedient.

[84] Antigua and the Antiguans, i. 68—81.

Amid these adverse influences, one memorable exception, supplied in the person of Colonel Rowland Williams, deserves to be remarked. His grave is still under the communion table of St. Mary's Church, of which he was the founder, and which was the first place of public worship erected in Antigua. The lines inscribed upon it record the fact that he was the first male child of European descent born in lawful wedlock in the Island, and that he died, the year after Parke's death, when he was fourscore years old. The testimony borne in the same epitaph to the many and valuable services of Rowland Williams is amply borne out by that of the most ancient records of the Island [85].

The high character of Rowland Williams.

At St. John's, a small and inconvenient wooden Church had been erected as early as the year 1683; and, in 1716, under the government of Walter Hamilton, an act was passed for erecting a larger and more substantial building in its room. But the fact that five or six more years passed away, before any attempt was made to proceed with the work, indicates the sluggishness of spirit which then prevailed [86]. And, if such were the indifference displayed in the capital of the Island, much more might a like influence have been looked for in its outlying Plantations.

Church at St. John's.

The business of amassing wealth, which gave to our West Indian possessions their chief interest, received at intervals many checks in Antigua. Sometimes the tyranny of the Planter provoked to deeds of murderous revenge the Negroes who toiled at his command; at other times, the hurricane, the fire,

[85] Ib. i. 183.

[86] Ib. i. 218.

or the earthquake, overwhelmed with the same terrible destruction master and slave alike. I have found, I regret to say, few traces of active zeal, or patient watchfulness, on the part of the Church in this Island during the same period; but, few though they are, they ought not to remain unnoticed. They occur chiefly in the correspondence carried on by the Colonial Governors and Clergy with Bishop Gibson, during the twenty-five years (from 1723 to 1748) in which he was Bishop of London, and prove the pains taken by that prelate to overcome the difficulties of his position. His printed Queries to each minister are most searching; and the care with which every answer was examined, and further explanations sometimes demanded, shows his determination to make as effectual as he could his oversight of those who were so far removed from him.

The services of some of the Clergy in Antigua.

His first Commissary for Antigua and the rest of the Leeward Islands, James Field, he found worn out with labours which he had patiently and faithfully sustained, for more than 30 years; and the appointment of a successor to Field in that important office was the earliest duty which the Church in the West Indies required at the hands of Gibson. A successor was found in James Knox; and, if the character of a man is to be judged from his letters, it would be difficult not to believe that Knox was a man of true piety, of hearty benevolence, of unwearied energy. It is not among the least valuable services rendered by him to the Church in Antigua, that he should have been the first to recommend to the favourable notice of Bishop Gibson, one who became afterwards his own successor, both in the Rectorship of St. John's, and the office of

Field, Knox, and Byam.

Commissary, Francis Byam, the most able and devoted Clergyman of his day throughout all the Leeward Islands. Grandson of that distinguished officer, whose services as Governor of Surinam have been already referred to [87], and son of another not less distinguished for many years as a most popular Governor of Antigua, Francis Byam, born in that Island in 1709, had been sent to England for education, and became a Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. The early termination of his career of usefulness in the West Indies,—for he died on his passage homeward in 1757 [88],—was a subject of sincere and lasting sorrow.

High character of some of the Governors of Antigua.

The personal character and influence of Colonial Governors, at all times powerful for good or evil, may be distinctly traced through all the communications, received at this time from Antigua, upon matters ecclesiastical. Sir William Matthew, and his son (who bore the same Christian name with himself), and Edward Byam, were the most conspicuous for their wisdom and vigilance; and, at a later period (1771), Sir Ralph Payne rivalled them in his efforts to promote every good work.

But, in Antigua, as in our other West Indian Islands, the general course of the Church's ministrations, during the greater part of the 18th century, was feeble and ineffectual; and I am not surprised to find that the agents of Methodism should have supplied the help which many of her Clergy failed to give.

[87] Vol. ii. 85.

[88] Antigua and the Antiguans, ii. 381; Memoirs of the Byam Family, 96—98.

Introduction of Methodism.

A visit to England in 1758 by Nathaniel Gilbert,—a descendant of the family of Sir Humphrey Gilbert, and Speaker of the House of Assembly,—led to an acquaintance between him and John Wesley. Wesley baptized two of the Negro servants whom Gilbert brought with him; and, upon his return to Antigua, Gilbert organised, among the Negroes and coloured people in his neighbourhood, according to the laws laid down by Wesley, a religious community which soon amounted to several hundred members. The work thus commenced, in a spirit of unaffected piety, by Gilbert, was renewed, in 1778, by John Baxter, a distinguished member of the Wesleyan body at home; and Coke, who, by virtue of the authority delegated to him by Wesley, frequently visited Antigua, reports in his Journal its favourable progress in late years. The materials, therefore, of spiritual culture were found in abundant measure throughout the Island; and, had the instruments fitted for that end entrusted to the keeping of the Church been fully and efficiently employed, in the first instance, may we not believe that the difficulties, caused by the introduction of different, and sometimes conflicting, instruments, would not have arisen?

First settlement of the Moravians.

A few years previous to the appearance of the Wesleyan body in Antigua, the Moravians also, once the fast friends of Wesley, but soon again separated from him, established their first settlement in Antigua[89].

Jamaica.

I have already shown, that, in Jamaica, fifteen Parishes had been formed in 1684, although not all supplied at that time with Ministers

[89] Ib. i. 241—249.

or Churches[90]. From one of these, the Parish of St. Andrew, a portion was taken in 1693, and formed into the separate Parish of Kingston. The 18th century witnessed the formation of four more Parishes, Westmorland in 1703; Hanover and Portland in 1723; and Trelawney in 1774; Westmorland being taken out of the Parish of St. Elizabeth, and Hanover and Trelawney out of that of St. James[91].

Increase of Parishes.

The aid, provided by zealous and affectionate members of the Church of England for the Colonies of North America, was extended at this time to Jamaica and other British possessions in the West Indies. Distinct and cheering evidences of this fact abound in the Reports and Journals of the two ancient Societies of the Church, which have been our guides thus far; in the manuscript correspondence preserved at Lambeth and at Fulham; and in the recorded proceedings of Bray's Associates. Among the most active members of the last-named body was General Oglethorpe. His friendship with Bray, first formed by sympathy and union with him in their attempts to remedy the gross abuses which then prevailed in our prisons[92], was made more strong

Channels through which spiritual help was derived from the Church of England.

[90] Vol. ii. 283.

[91] The Parish of Manchester was also formed in 1816, out of the Parishes of St. Elizabeth, Clarendon, and Vere; and Metcalfe, in 1841, out of the Parishes of St. Mary and St. George.

For these, and some other particulars connected with the history of the Church in Jamaica, I am indebted to a MS. sent to me, a few years since, by the Rev. Dr. S. H. Stewart, Rector of Clarendon; and regret that want of space prevents me from including in the present Volume all the information which I have derived from it.

[92] Vol. ii. 569.

and binding by their co-operation in many other kindred works of piety. To help their indigent fellow-countrymen to find a better livelihood in the Colonies of the New World was one of these; and to alleviate the sufferings and instruct the minds of the Negro race was another[93]. The West Indian Islands presented the widest and most prominent field for the prosecution of the latter duty; and, from the earliest period of the Institution, which bears the name of Dr. Bray and his Associates, the course of its operations has always been traced among them.

Bray's Associates.

It is not among the least interesting facts connected with the proceedings of its first members, that the honoured name of Selwyn is associated with those of Bray and Oglethorpe[94]. I refer to Major Charles Selwyn, second son of Major-General William Selwyn, Governor of Jamaica, who had died in that Island, a few months after he had entered upon the duties of his office, in 1702. Charles Selwyn might possibly have been led to feel a deeper interest in the spiritual welfare of the British Colonies in the West, and especially of the Negroes scattered among them, by remembering that his father had been called to govern, for a brief season, one of the most important of those possessions, and that his father's grave was still there[95]. But, let the

Major Charles Selwyn.

[93] Vol. ii. 419.

[94] Biog. Brit. (Art. Dr. Bray), ii. 977.

[95] Governor Selwyn, formerly the owner of an estate at Matson in Gloucestershire, had two other sons, also in the army, John, the eldest, and Henry, the youngest. In 1720, his second son Charles purchased an estate at Richmond, in Surrey, which, upon his death, in 1749, he devised to William, the son of his youngest brother Henry. William Selwyn was called to the Bar, five years after his

cause have been what it might, there can be no doubt that, in the spirit of true Christian brotherhood, he walked side by side with some of the most devoted members of the Church of England in his day; and, few though there were to wish him God speed, joined readily with those true-hearted men in the execution of many a needful and blessed work for the spiritual benefit of his native land and its dependencies. In following this track of duty, Selwyn did but precede the men of this generation, who traverse it in numbers ten thousand fold greater, and with a zeal and energy quickened into stronger life, because freed from the encumbrances of a former age; and none more successfully than does that intrepid soldier of the Cross, sprung from the same lineage with himself, who, not only through the length and breadth of New Zealand, but in many another Island of the South Pacific, has set up so many and, we trust, enduring tokens of its saving power.

Difficulties created by Colonial Legislation.

When I have acknowledged the services thus rendered to the Church in Jamaica, in the 18th century, I fear that I have summed up nearly all that was then done by the Church Domestic or Church Colonial in that Island. The enactments of its House of Assembly marking out the territorial divisions of Parishes, scarcely served any other purpose, for many years, than that of witnessing the obligation laid upon the rulers of a Chris-

uncle's death, and became Treasurer of Lincoln's Inn in 1793. He, again, was followed in the same profession and office, and with distinction yet greater, by his second son and namesake,—the father of the present Bishop of New Zealand,—who has lately departed to his rest, full of years, and honoured and beloved of all men.

tian Colony to provide for the spiritual wants of its inhabitants. The means of discharging that obligation aright were hindered at every step by the scanty numbers of the Clergy [96], and, yet more, by the irregularities that prevailed among them. The only power which could have applied a sufficient remedy for the evil, was precluded by the clause already described in the Act passed in the 33rd year of Charles II., which reduced the professed jurisdiction of the Bishop of London to a mere nullity [97]. A similar clause was inserted in every Act passed upon the same subject by the Colonial Assemblies of other Islands. An attempt was made, indeed, in 1748, to establish more directly the exercise of the Bishop's authority in Jamaica; but the clause just mentioned, forbidding the imposition of any penalties by the ecclesiastical power, was left unrepealed, and the provisions of the later Act were consequently useless. Meanwhile, the evils which it had been designed to meet, increased with the lapse of time; and, in 1797, the House of Assembly passed an Address to George III., representing that the jurisdiction of the Bishop of London had never been exercised in Jamaica, and 'praying that a power' might 'be vested' in its Governor 'to censure, suspend, and remove, any Clergyman who may be complained against, in such a manner and according to such regulations as' might 'be hereafter provided for by' its Legislature,

[96] From a catalogue now before me in the Fulham MSS., it appears that from 1745 to 1784, not more than 29 Clergy were licensed by the Bishop of London for Jamaica. The same list shows for the same period, 14 for Antigua, 7 for the Bahamas, 35 for Barbados, 10 for St. Kitt's, 6 for Dominica, 4 for Granada, 1 for Guadaloupe, 3 for Montserrat, 2 for Nevis, 2 for Tobago, and 1 for St. Vincent.

[97] Vol. ii. 289.

reserving a right of appeal, according to the King's pleasure. The immediate effect of this Address was the formal abolition of the contradictory powers given to the Bishop of London and House of Assembly under former Acts; and the reversion to the Crown of the authority which they had vainly attempted to exercise. The House of Assembly renewed its prayer, that this authority might, in all its fulness, be delegated to the Colonial Governor; and, until the opinion of Sir William Scott, to whom the matter was referred, could be received, passed an Act enforcing the residence of the Clergy, and prohibiting the payment of their stipends, except upon production of a certificate from the Churchwardens that the stipulated term of residence had been observed, and their several duties performed.

Such was the humiliating condition to which the Church, in the most important British possession in the West Indies, was reduced, through the infatuated obstinacy which refused to grant to her the guidance of her proper spiritual rulers.

Opinion of Sir William Scott.

It scarcely needed the great authority of Sir William Scott to show to the House of Assembly in Jamaica that its prayer could not be granted, and that to convert a Colonial Governor into a Bishop was impossible. To meet, in some degree, the exigencies that had arisen, it was agreed, at the beginning of the present century, in accordance with the advice of Sir William Scott, that the Crown should delegate the care of the Church in Jamaica to certain Ecclesiastical Commissioners, the Rectors of St. Andrew, Kingston, St. Elizabeth, St. James, and St. Catherine, and give them authority to institute to Benefices, to license Curates, and generally

to controul and direct their brethren in the discharge of their duties. With a view also of mitigating the evils of non-residence, it was provided that Rectors who obtained leave of absence should appoint Curates to undertake their duty; that, in default of such appointment, the Governor should nominate the Curate, and make over to him all the emoluments of the Parish,—the glebe only excepted,—and that, if the Rector were absent more than 18 months, the benefice should be declared void.

The consecration of Colonial Bishops the only true remedy for the evils which existed.

These and the like were mere palliatives, which might have mitigated, but could not remove, the evils complained of. And, although one very important step towards supplying the deficiency of the means of spiritual instruction was taken in 1816, by the law then passed for the appointment of Island Curates, and another most valuable instrument of help was furnished, through many years of the present century, in the zeal and energy of Missionaries employed in Jamaica by the Church Missionary Society, yet the most efficient organ to maintain the order and efficiency of the Church—the supervision of its chief Pastors—was still wanting. At length, in 1824,—after the lapse of more than a century since this identical measure had been first solemnly urged by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel upon the Crown[98],—the deficiency was supplied by the consecration of Dr. Lipscomb to the See of Jamaica, and

[98] See Table of Colonial Dioceses in Appendix, No. IV., and the comparative numbers of the Clergy in some of them, at the time the Dioceses were formed, and at the present time, No. V., and the Tables exhibiting the progress of the Colonial Episcopate, Nos. VI. and VII.

of Dr. Coleridge to that of Barbados. A new epoch commenced from that time. The benefits, which directly and immediately followed, were too clear to be mistaken; and the erection, in 1842, of the separate Sees of British Guiana and Antigua, have only served to multiply them yet more in that quarter of the world. The like results have been experienced, and, indeed, could not fail to be, in the erection of every other Colonial See in either hemisphere. Howsoever tardily the remedy has been applied, England now shows her sense of its value by extending promptly to her latest acquisitions of foreign territory the help which was denied for centuries to her ancient Colonies. The consecration of Bishop McDougall to preside over the Clergy and congregations of the Church in Borneo, which took place in St. Paul's Cathedral, Calcutta, on St. Luke's day, last year[99], is a signal evidence of this fact. It is the first consecration solemnised out of England by the hands of the Bishops of our Church; and is a fitting accompaniment of the work begun many years since, and now, let us confidently hope, carried on to a successful issue, in those regions, by the noble-hearted Brooke.

Like efforts, we thankfully acknowledge, have been continually renewed by our National Church, throughout the length and breadth of the wide field of her Missionary labour. The venerable Societies, reared up at her side, which pleaded so many years in vain for the full extension of her spiritual help over her children

[99] Oct. 18, 1855. An admirable article on this subject is contained in the Colonial Church Chronicle for January, 1856. The chief part of the endowment, £5000, is provided out of the Jubilee Fund of the S. P. G., and a grant of £2000 has been received from S. P. C. K.

in foreign lands, are now permitted to rejoice in the accomplishment of their prayer. The help extended towards the same end by a Society which dates its existence from a period even prior to theirs has been gratefully acknowledged[100]. The help rendered by another,—whose formation was one of the most signal effects of the great revival of religious zeal at the beginning of the present century, whose progress has been already marked by the celebration of its first glad year of Jubilee, and whose work will supply materials for some of the brightest pages in the future history of the Colonial Church,—is confessed with not less gratitude to be the main temporal stay which sustains one of the most distinguished Dioceses of the Southern hemisphere[101]. Her work meanwhile at home, instead of being relaxed or straitened by such efforts, is all the more vigorously carried on, because, at home as well as abroad, the same spirit animates her. The more than a thousand Churches raised up within the last few years amid our people, the new opportunities and means of holy usefulness called every where into existence among them, and the new energy imparted to institutions which are the most time-honoured in our land; the addition already made to the number of our Bishops at home, and the hope supplied therein that more will follow; the fresh impulse given to thoughts of lofty enterprise; and the conviction daily fixing itself deeper within us, that He who has bestowed upon us His best gifts, will, by His Spirit, bring them to a glorious issue, and enable us to walk before Him

[100] See the notice of the Hudson's Bay Company, p. 103, *ante*.

[101] I need hardly say that I here refer to the Church Missionary Society, and the assistance given by it towards the See of New Zealand.

"with a perfect heart:"—these are the evidences which prove how graciously "hitherto the Lord hath helped us." The hopeful anticipations therefore, which, in former parts of this work, I have ventured to indulge, are, day by day, receiving their accomplishment. Divisions may impair her energies and disturb her peace; but the heart of the Church of England beats with the strong impulse of a healthful life. The neglect of former days may have cast many a heavy burden upon her, and the conflict of present trials may threaten to oppress her with more; but she has received strength to cast off burdens yet heavier, and to pass through conflicts yet more perilous. It would be a sinful mistrust, therefore, of the Divine promises to fear that the help, which has thus far sustained her, will now fail. Rather let us rejoice, that she recognises, in every difficulty, a fresh call to watchfulness and prayer. What though the havoc and anxieties of war have filled many hearts of late with sorrow? Yet we know that, for this very cause, our Church has invited her children, more earnestly, to remember the hope still set before them, and to fulfil, in war as in peace, the duties which the possession of this hope requires. Come therefore what may, she will not be weary or faint-hearted. She has found amid the new and unexpected emergencies of battle and cold and sickness, on the borders of Eastern Europe, the self-same instruments ready to do her Heavenly Master's bidding, which, for more than a century and a half, she has employed,—at home, or through the distant possessions of either hemisphere,—to spread the knowledge of His Name. She continues, therefore, to traverse with stedfast and patient hope each path of duty that is opened before her, for the Word of God is her guide, His Spirit her comforter.

APPENDIX.

No. I. Page 221.

Substance of the Memorials of Governors Dudley, Morris, and Heathcote, in Humphrey's Historical Account of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, pp. 41—43.

'In South Carolina there were computed 7000 souls, besides Negroes and Indians, living without any Minister of the Church of England, and but few dissenting teachers of any kind; above half the people living regardless of any religion. In North Carolina, above 5000 souls without any Minister, any religious administrations used, no Public Worship celebrated; neither the children baptized, nor the dead buried in any Christian form. Virginia contained above 40,000 souls, divided into 40 parishes, but wanting near half the number of Clergymen requisite. Maryland contained above 25,000, divided into 26 parishes, but wanting also near half the Ministers requisite. In Pennsylvania, (says Colonel Heathcote,) there are at least 20,000 souls, of which not above 700 frequent the Church, and there are not more than 250 communicants. The two Jersies contain about 15,000, of which not above 600 frequent the Church, nor have they more than 250 communicants. In New York Government, we have 30,000 souls at least, of which about 1200 frequent the Church, and we have about 450 communicants. In Connecticut Colony, in New England, there are 30,000

souls, of which, when they have a Minister among them, about 150 frequent the Church, and there are 35 communicants. In Rhode-Island and Naragansett, which is one Government, there are 10.000 souls, of which about 150 frequent the Church, and there are 30 communicants. In Boston and Piscataway Government, there are about 80,000 souls, of which about 600 frequent the Church, and 120 the Sacrament. In Newfoundland, there are about 500 families constantly living in the place, and many thousands of occasional inhabitants, and no sort of public Christian Worship used. This is the true, though melancholy state of our Church in North America; and whoever sends any other accounts more in her favour, are certainly under mistakes; nor can I take them (if they do it knowingly) to be friends to the Church; for if the distemper be not rightly known and understood, proper remedies can never be applied.'

No. II. Page 284.

Address of the General Convention, held at Christ Church, Philadelphia, Oct. 5, 1785, to the Most Reverend and Right Reverend the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, and the Bishops of the Church of England.

We, the Clerical and Lay Deputies of the Protestant Episcopal Church, in sundry of the United States of America, think it our duty to address your Lordships on a subject deeply interesting; not only to ourselves and those whom we represent, but, as we conceive, to the common cause of Christianity.

Our forefathers, when they left the land of their nativity, did not leave the bosom of that Church over which your Lordships now preside; but, as well from a veneration for Episcopal Government, as from attachment to the admirable services of our Liturgy, continued in willing connexion with their Ecclesiastical Superiors in England, and were subject

to many local inconveniences, rather than break the unity of the Church to which they belonged.

When it pleased the Supreme Ruler of the universe, that this part of the British Empire should be free, sovereign, and independent, it became the most important concern of the Members of our Communion to provide for its continuance. And while, in accomplishing of this, they kept in view that wise and liberal part of the system of the Church of England, which excludes as well the claiming as the acknowledging of such spiritual subjection as may be inconsistent with the civil duties of her children; it was nevertheless their earnest desire and resolution to retain the venerable form of Episcopal Government handed down to them, as they conceived, from the time of the Apostles: and endeared to them by the remembrance of the holy Bishops of the primitive Church, of the blessed Martyrs who reformed the doctrine and worship of the Church of England, and of the many great and pious Prelates who have adorned that Church in every succeeding age. But, however general the desire of completing the orders of our Convention, so diffused and unconnected were the members of our communion over this extensive country, that much time and negociation were necessary for the forming a representative body of the greater number of the Episcopalians in these States; and owing to the same causes, it was not until this Convention, that sufficient powers could be procured for the addressing your Lordships on this subject.

The Petition which we offer to your Venerable Body, is—that from a tender regard to the religious interests of thousands in this rising empire, professing the same religious principles with the Church of England: you will be pleased to confer the Episcopal character on such persons as shall be recommended by this Church in the several States here represented: full satisfaction being given of the sufficiency of the persons recommended, and of its being the intention of the general body of the Episcopalians in the said States respectively, to receive them in the quality of Bishops.

Whether this our request will meet with insurmountable

impediments, from the political regulations of the kingdom in which your Lordships fill such distinguished stations, it it is not for us to foresee; we have not been ascertained (*sic in orig.*) that any such will exist; and are humbly of opinion, that, as citizens of these States, interested in their prosperity, and religiously regarding the allegiance which we owe them, it is to an ecclesiastical source only we can apply in the present emergency.

It may be of consequence to observe, that in these States there is a separation between the concerns of policy and those of religion; that accordingly, our civil Rulers cannot officially join in the present application; that however we are far from apprehending the opposition or even displeasure of any of those honourable personages; and, finally, that in this business we are justified by the constitutions of the States, which are the foundations and controul of all our laws. On this point, we beg leave to refer to the enclosed extracts from the constitutions of the respective States of which we are citizens, and we flatter ourselves that they must be satisfactory.

Thus, we have stated to your Lordships the nature and the grounds of our application; which we have thought it most respectful and most suitable to the magnitude of the object, to address to your Lordships for your deliberations, before any person is sent over to carry them into effect. Whatever may be the event, no time will efface the remembrance of the past services of your Lordships and your predecessors. The Archbishops of Canterbury were not prevented, even by the weighty concerns of their high stations, from attending to the interests of this distant branch of the Church under their care. The Bishops of London were our Diocesans; and the uninterrupted, although voluntary, submission of our congregations, will remain a perpetual proof of their mild and paternal government. All the Bishops of England, with other distinguished characters, as well ecclesiastical as civil, have concurred in forming and carrying on the benevolent views of the Society for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts: a Society to whom, under God,

the prosperity of our Church is in an eminent degree to be ascribed. It is our earnest wish to be permitted to make, through your Lordships, this just acknowledgment to that venerable Society; a tribute of gratitude which we rather take this opportunity of paying, as, while they thought it necessary to withdraw their pecuniary assistance from our Ministers, they have endeared their past favours by a benevolent declaration, that it is far from their thought to alienate their affection from their brethren now under another government; with the pious wish that their former exertions may still continue to bring forth the fruits they aimed at of pure religion and virtue. Our hearts are penetrated with the most lively gratitude by these generous sentiments; the long succession of former benefits passes in review before us; we pray that our Church may be a lasting monument of the usefulness of so worthy a body; and that her sons may never cease to be kindly affectioned to the members of the Church, the Fathers of which have so tenderly watched over her infancy.

For your Lordships in particular, we most sincerely wish and pray, that you may long continue the ornaments of the Church of England, and at last receive the reward of the righteous from the great Shepherd and Bishop of souls.

Extracted from the Journals of the General Conventions of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America. (pp. 12—14.)

Answer from the Archbishops and Bishops of the Church to the foregoing Address. (Ib. pp. 19, 20.)

London, February 24, 1786.

To the Clerical and Lay Deputies of the Protestant Episcopal Church in sundry of the United States of America.

The Archbishop of Canterbury hath received an Address dated in Convention, Christ Church, Philadelphia, Oct. 5, 1785, from the Clerical and Lay Deputies of the Protestant Episcopal Church in sundry of the United States of America, directed to the Archbishops and Bishops of England, and

requesting them to confer the Episcopal character on such persons as shall be recommended by the Episcopal Church in the several States by them represented.

This brotherly and Christian address was communicated to the Archbishop of York, and to the Bishops, with as much dispatch as their separate and distant situations would permit, and hath been received and considered by them with that true and affectionate regard which they have always shown towards their Episcopal brethren in America.

We are now enabled to assure you, that nothing is nearer to our hearts than the wish to promote your spiritual welfare, to be instrumental in procuring for you the complete exercise of our holy religion, and the enjoyment of that Ecclesiastical constitution, which we believe to be truly Apostolical, and for which you express so unreserved a veneration.

We are therefore happy to be informed that this pious design is not likely to receive any discountenance from the civil powers under which you live; and we desire you to be persuaded, that we, on our parts, will use our best endeavours, which we have good reason to hope will be successful, to acquire a legal capacity of complying with the prayer of your address.

With these sentiments we are disposed to make every allowance which candour can suggest for the difficulties of your situation, but at the same time we cannot help being afraid, that, in the proclamation of your Convention, some alterations may have been adopted or intended, which these difficulties do not seem to justify.

Those alterations are not mentioned in your Address, and, as our knowledge of them is no more than what has reached us through private and less certain channels, we hope you will think it just, both to you and to ourselves, if we wait for an explanation.

For while we are anxious to give every proof, not only of our brotherly affection, but of our facility in forwarding your wishes, we cannot but be extremely cautious, lest we should be the instruments of establishing an Ecclesiastical system which will be called a branch of the Church of Eng-

land, but afterwards may possibly appear to have departed from it essentially, either in doctrine or in discipline.

In the mean time, we heartily commend you to God's holy protection, and are your affectionate brethren,

T. Cantuar. (Moore).
W. Ebor. (Markham).
R. London (Lowth).
W. Chichester (Ashburnham).
C. Bath and Wells (Moss).
S. St. Asaph (Shipley).
S. Sarum (Barrington).
J. Peterborough (Hinchcliffe).
James Ely (Yorke).
J. Rochester (Thomas).
R. Worcester (Hurd).
J. Oxford (Butler).
L. Exeter (Ross).
Tho. Lincoln (Thurlow).
John Bangor (Warren).
J. Lichfield and Coventry (Cornwallis).
S. Gloucester (Halifax).
E. St. David's (Smalwell).
Chr. Bristol (Wilson).

An Act to empower the Archbishop of Canterbury, or the Archbishop of York, for the time being, to consecrate to the office of a Bishop, persons being subjects or citizens of countries out of His Majesty's dominions. [Sent by the Archbishop of Canterbury to the Committee of the General Convention, &c. Ib. pp. 37, 38.]

Whereas, by the Laws of this realm, no person can be consecrated to the office of a Bishop without the King's licence for his election to that office, and the royal mandate under the Great Seal for his confirmation and consecration; and whereas, every person who shall be consecrated to the said office is required to take the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, and also the oath of due obedience to the Archbishop: And whereas, there are divers persons, subjects, or citizens of countries out of His Majesty's dominions, inhabiting and

residing within the said countries, who profess the public worship of Almighty God according to the principles of the Church of England, and who, in order to provide a regular succession of ministers for the service of their Church, are desirous of having certain of the subjects or citizens of those countries consecrated Bishops, according to the forms of consecration in the Church of England: Be it enacted by the King's most excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords' Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons in this present Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, that from and after the passing of this Act, it shall and may be lawful to and for the Archbishop of Canterbury, or the Archbishop of York, for the time being, together with such other Bishops as they shall call to their assistance, to consecrate persons being subjects or citizens of countries out of His Majesty's dominions, Bishops for the purposes aforesaid, without the King's licence for their election, or the royal mandate under the Great Seal for their confirmation and consecration, and without requiring them to take the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, and the oath of obedience to the Archbishop for the time being. Provided always, that no persons shall be consecrated Bishops in the manner herein provided, until the Archbishop of Canterbury, or the Archbishop of York, for the time being, shall have first applied for, and obtained His Majesty's licence, by warrant under his royal signet and sign manual, authorizing and empowering him to perform such consecration, and expressing the name or names of the persons so to be consecrated; nor until the said Archbishop has been fully ascertained of their sufficiency in good learning, of the soundness of their faith, and of the purity of their manners. Provided also, and be it hereby declared, that no person or persons consecrated to the office of a Bishop in the manner aforesaid, nor any person or persons deriving their consecration from or under any Bishop so consecrated, nor any person or persons admitted to the order of Deacon or Priest by any Bishop or Bishops so consecrated, or by the successor or successors of any Bishop or Bishops so consecrated, shall be thereby enabled to use his or their respective office

or offices, within His Majesty's dominions. Provided always, and be it further enacted, that a certificate of such consecration shall be given under the hand and seal of the Archbishop who consecrates, containing the name of the person so consecrated, with the addition as well of the country whereof he is subject or citizen, as of the Church in which he is appointed Bishop, and the further description of his not having taken the same oaths, being exempted from the obligation of so doing by virtue of this Act.

No. III. Page 475.

Directions to the Catechists for instructing Indians, Negroes, &c. [Quoted by Dalcho, pp. 47—50.]

First, Put them upon considering what sort of creatures they are; and how they came into being.

Secondly, From whom they received their being.

Thirdly, What sort of apprehensions they ought to have of the Author of their being.

Fourthly, Show them, from that invisible spirit which moves and acts their bodies, and by which they are enabled to think, to reason, and to remember, that there may be other beings which they do not see with their eyes: and particularly that Being which we call God.

Fifthly, Show them that there is such a Being as we call God, from His works of Creation and Providence; and particularly from the frame of their own beings.

But forasmuch as our knowledge of God and of His Will is imperfect, show them, farther, how He has made Himself and His Will known to men by a certain Book called the Bible, which was written by several Holy Men, to whom God made known Himself and His Will, that they might teach others. For a proof of this, show them that this Book contains things worthy of God; that the men who wrote it, in several places of it, do foretell things which none but God could make known to them; and that they did many won-

derful works which none but God could enable them to do. And give them some plain instances in both kinds out of the Bible.

Show them, farther, that this Book called the Bible has been carefully preserved, and handed down to us from generation to generation, and has all the marks of truth and sincerity in it.

Show them, in the next place, what this Book teaches concerning God; viz. that there is but one God; that as He created, so He governs the world; that He takes care of all the beings which He hath made, particularly of the children of men, and more especially of them that fear and serve Him.

Show them, in the next place, what this Book teaches concerning man; how God formed one man and one woman at first; and how all mankind are descended from them; what state they were made in; what law was given them to try their obedience; how they disobeyed that law; and what were the unhappy consequences of their disobedience upon themselves, and upon their whole posterity.

Proceed then to show them that the Bible farther teaches them what method Almighty God hath taken to deliver mankind from the evil consequences of their disobedience, viz. by sending his only-begotten Son, Jesus Christ, into the world, to take our nature upon Him: instruct them concerning His conception, His birth, life, suffering, resurrection, ascension into heaven, and continual intercession for us there; and His sending forth twelve disciples, called His twelve Apostles, to publish His doctrine to the world, enabling them by the Holy Ghost to speak many languages they had never learned, and to do many great and miraculous works for the confirmation thereof.

Show them, next, what the Bible teaches them to hope for from this Son of God, namely, the forgiveness of their sins; the assistances of God's grace and everlasting life and happiness through His merits and mediation.

Show them the conditions of obtaining these good things, viz. repentance, faith, and a good life; instructing them particularly in the nature of each of them.

Show them, farther, by what means they may be enabled to perform these conditions, viz. by exercising their own reason; by carefully reading and considering the Bible; by praying earnestly to God that He will, for Jesus Christ's sake, afford them His assistance; and lastly, by entering themselves into the Church of Christ, or society of Christians.

Then show them how they are to enter into the Church of Christ by Baptism; namely, by being washed with water "In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost." Show them what the Holy Scriptures have revealed concerning the Trinity of the Divine Persons, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, and the unity of their essence; show them the nature and design of their being thus baptized, and the obligations they are laid under by it; particularly, what they are further to do when they are thus entered into the Church by Baptism, viz. heartily to love their fellow Christians, and frequently to join with them in the public worship of God, in prayers and praises, and partaking of the Lord's Supper, and the manner in which it is celebrated in the Christian Church.

Teach them, that the Bible declares, that Jesus Christ will come again to judge all men, according to what they have done in this life, whether it be good or evil; that, to this purpose, He will raise the dead, reuniting their immortal souls to their bodies, in order to reward the pious and good with everlasting life, and condemn the wicked to everlasting punishment.

For a conclusion of the whole; in order to convince them of the usefulness and the necessity of the revelation made in the Bible, put them upon recollecting what you have taught them; and show them what they might have known by their own reason, if duly exercised, and what they could not have known but from the Bible; and endeavour to convince them that the truths contained in the Bible are highly worthy of God, fit to be believed, and thankfully received by men; and excite them to an earnest desire to read the Bible as soon as they can.

No. IV.

TABLE OF

Dioceses.	Date of Erection.	Jurisdiction extends over
Nova Scotia	1787	Nova Scotia, Cape Breton, Prince Edward Island
Quebec	1793	Districts of Gaspé, Quebec, Three Rivers, St. Francis
Montreal	1850	District of Montreal
Toronto	1839	Canada West
Rupert's Land...	1850	Hudson's Bay Territory
Newfoundland .	1839	Newfoundland, the Bermudas
Fredericton	1845	New Brunswick
Jamaica	1824	Jamaica, British Honduras, the Bahamas, Cayman
Barbados.....	1824	Barbados, Trinidad, St. Vincent, Granada, Tobago, St. Lucia
Antigua	1842	Antigua, Montserrat, Barbuda, St. Kitt's, Nevis, Anguilla, Virgin Isles, Dominica
Guiana	1842	Demerara, Essequibo, Berbice
Sierra Leone ...	1850	British Settlements on the Western Coast of Africa
Calcutta	1814	Presidency of Bengal
Madras.....	1835	Presidency of Madras
Bombay	1837	Presidency of Bombay
Colombo	1845	Ceylon
Victoria	1849	Hong Kong, and the Congregations of the Church of England in China
Mauritius	1854	Mauritius, Seychelles
Labuan.....	1855	Borneo
Cape Town.....	1847	Cape Colony, St. Helena
Graham's Town .	1853	Eastern Province of the Sovereignty of British Caffraria
Natal	1853	Natal
Sydney.....	1836	Southern Part of New South Wales
Newcastle	1847	Northern Part of New South Wales
Melbourne.....	1847	Province of Victoria
Adelaide	1847	South Australia and Western Australia ...
Tasmania	1842	Van Diemen's Land, Norfolk Island .....
New Zealand ...	1841	New Zealand, Chatham Islands, &c. .....
Gibraltar	1842	Gibraltar, and the Congregations of the Church of England in the Mediterranean

Page 548.

COLONIAL DIOCESES.

Square Miles.	Population.	Clergy.	Name of Bishop, 1855.	Date of Consecration.
22,435	338,465	72	Hibbert Binney, D.D.	1851
153,432	417,856	41	Geo. J. Mountain, D.D.	1836
56,258	472.405	54	Francis Fulford, D.D.	1850
100,000	952,004	158	John Strachan, D.D.	1839
370,000	103.000	12	David Anderson, D.D.	1849
36,022	106,421	53	Edward Feild, D.D.	1844
26,000	200,000	55	John Medley, D.D.	1845
74,734	418,847	116	Aubrey Geo. Spencer, D.D.....	1839
3,170	308,189	75	Thomas Parry, D.D.	1842
751	106,372	35	Daniel G. Davis, D.D.	1842
134,000	121,678	31	Wm. Piercy Austin, D.D.	1842
.....	45,000	21	J. W. Weeks	1855
306,012	72,900,000	125	Daniel Wilson. D.D.	1832
141,923	13.500,000	96	Thomas Dealtry, D.D.	1849
65,000	7,800,000	37	John Harding, D.D.	1851
24,448	1,442,062	38	James Chapman, D.D.	1845
.....	.....	13	George Smith, D.D.	1849
1,400	190,000	6	V. W. Ryan, D.D.	1855
260,000	6,000.000	3	Francis T. M'Dougall, D.D.	1855
130.046	225,000	38	Robert Gray, D.D.....	1847
60,000	340,000	20	John Armstrong, D.D.	1853
18.000	125,000	7	John W. Colenso, D.D.....	1853
100.000	190,000	58	Frederick Barker, D.D.	1854
500.000		29	William Tyrrell, D D.	1847
80,000	200,000	34	Charles Perry, D.D.	1847
300,000	81,000	28	Augustus Short, D.D.	1847
24.002	74,464	57	Francis R. Nixon, D.D.	1842
95.000	120,000	49	Geo. A. Selwyn, D.D.	1841
.....	.....	35	Geo. Tomlinson, D.D.	1842

No. V. Page 548.

Table showing the number of Clergymen in each Diocese when the See was erected, and in 1855 (June).

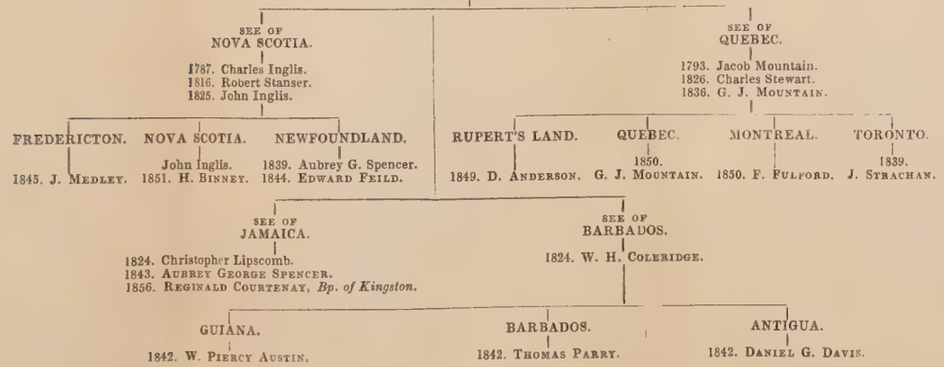
Date of Foundation.	New Bishoprics.	Number of Clergy.	
		Before the Erection of See.	In June, 1855.
1841	New Zealand	12	49
1842	Antigua	25	35
1842	Guiana	23	31
1842	Tasmania	19	57
1842	Gibraltar	30	35
1845	Colombo	22	38
1845	Fredericton	30	55
1847	Cape Town	14	38
1853	Graham's Town		20
1853	Natal		7
1847	Newcastle	17	29
1847	Melbourne	3	34
1847	Adelaide	4	28
1849	Rupert's Land	5	12
1849	Victoria	10	13
1850	Montreal	45	54
1852	Sierra Leone	15	21
		274	556

The above Table has been taken, with the others which precede and follow it, from Documents relative to Additional Bishoprics in the Colonies, &c., recently published by the Rev. Ernest Hawkins, and refers only to the Dioceses established since the formation of the Colonial Bishoprics Fund. But the same, and, in some instances, more astonishing, results appear in every other Colonial Diocese. Bishop Coleridge, when he retired from Barbados, described most forcibly what had taken place in that Diocese; and the Report of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel for 1842, exhibits similar results in Jamaica, during the same period, under Bishop Lipscomb. I have already shown (Vol. i. 339, 340, *note*) the effects which in Newfoundland immediately followed its separation from the then unwieldy Diocese of Nova Scotia; and a mass of evidence, establishing the same facts, will be found to exist in every quarter.

No. VI. Page 548.

PROGRESS OF THE EPISCOPATE IN THE COLONIES.

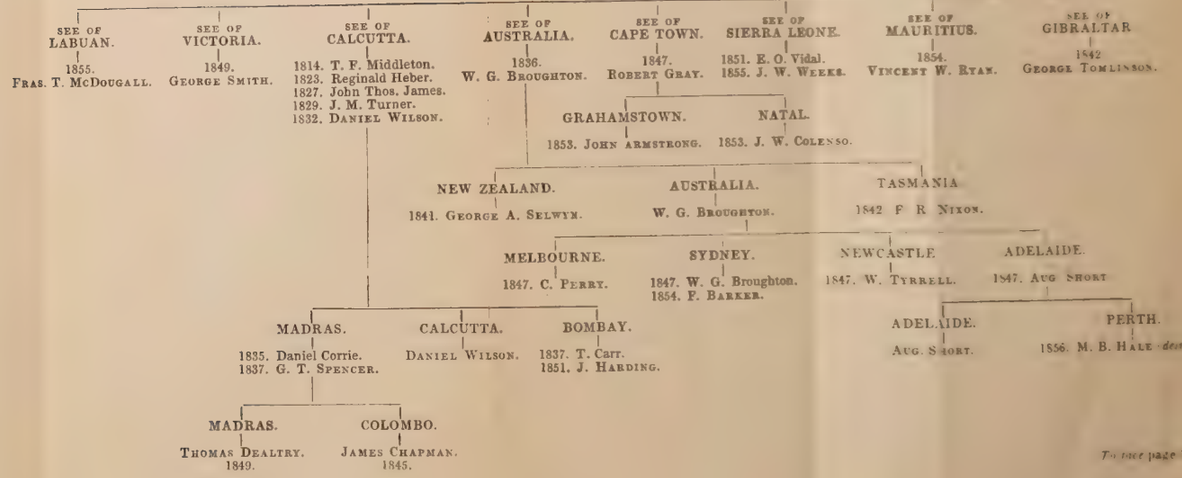
WESTERN HEMISPHERE.



No. VII. Page 548.

PROGRESS OF THE EPISCOPATE IN THE COLONIES.

EASTERN HEMISPHERE.



To face page 549.

No. VIII. Page 27.

Charter of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts.

William the Third, by the Grace of God, of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, King, Defender of the Faith, &c. To all Christian People to whom these Presents shall come, Greeting.

Whereas Wee are credibly informed, That in many of Our Plantations, Colonies and Factories beyond the Seas, belonging to Our Kingdom of England, the Provision for Ministers is very mean; and many others of our said Plantations, Colonies and Factories, are wholly destitute, and unprovided of a Mainteynance for Ministers and the Publick Worshipp of God; and for Lack of Support and Mainteynance for such, many of our Loveing Subjects doe want the Administration of God's Word and Sacraments, and seem to be abandoned to Atheism and Infidelity; and alsoe for Want of Learned and Orthodox Ministers to instruct Our said Loveing Subjects in the Principles of True Religion, divers Romish Priests and Jesuits are the more encouraged to pervert and draw over Our said Loveing Subjects to Popish Superstition and Idolatry.

And whereas Wee think it Our Duty, as much as in Us lyes, to promote the Glory of God, by the Instruccon of Our People in the Christian Religion; and that it will be highly conducive for accomplishing those Ends, that a sufficient Mainteynance be provided for an Orthodox Clergy to live amongst them, and that such other Provision be made, as may be necessary for the Propagation of the Gospell in those Parts.

And whereas Wee have been well assured, That if Wee would be gratiously pleased to erect and settle a Corporacon for the receiving, manageing, and disposing of the Charity of Our loveing Subjects, divers Persons would be

Induced to extend their Charity to the Uses and Purposes aforesaid.

Know yee therefore, That Wee have for the Consideracons aforesaid, and for the better and more orderly carrying on the said Charitable Purposes, of Our speciall Grace, certain Knowledge, and mere Mocon, Willed, Ordained, Constituted and Appointed, and by these Presents, for Us, Our Heires and Successors, Doe Will, Ordaine, Constitute, Declare and Grant, That the most Reverend Fathers in God, Thomas Lord Archbishopp of Canterbury, and John Lord Archbishopp of Yorke; the Right Reverend Fathers in God Henry Lord Bishop of London, William Lord Bishop of Worcester, Our Lord Almoner, Simon Lord Bishop of Ely, Thomas Lord Bishop of Rochester, Deane of Westminster; and the Lords Archbishops of Canterbury and Yorke, the Bishops of London and Ely, the Lord Almoner and Deane of Westminster for the Time being; Edward Lord Bishop of Gloucester, John Lord Bishop of Chichester, Nicholas Lord Bishop of Chester, Richard Lord Bishop of Bath and Wells, Humphry Lord Bishop of Bangor, John Mountague Doctor of Divinity, Clerke of our Closett, William Sherlock, Doctor of Divinity, Deane of St. Paules, William Stanley, Doctor of Divinity, Archdeacon of London, and the Clerke of the Closett, of Us, Our Heirs and Successors, the Dean of St. Pauls and Archdeacon of London for the Time being; The two Regius and two Margaret Professors of both Our Universities, for the Time being; Thomas, Earl of Thannet, Thomas Lord Viscount Weymouth, Francis Lord Guilford, William Lord Digby, Sir Thomas Cookes of Bentley, Sir Richard Bulkley, Sir John Philipps, and Sir Arthur Owen, Baronets; Sir Humphrey Mackworth, Sir William Prichard, Sir William Russell, Sir Edmund Turner, Sir William Hustler, Sir John Chardin, and Sir Richard Blackmore, Knights; John Hook Esq; Serjeant at Law, George Hooper Doctor of Divinity, Deane of Canterbury, George Booth Doctor of Divinity, Archdeacon of Durham, Sir George Wheeler Prebendary of Durham, William Beveridge Doctor of Divinity, Archdeacon of Colchester, Sir William Dawes Baronett; Thomas Maning-

ham, Edward Gee, Thomas Lynford, Nathaniel Resbury, Offspring Blackhall, George Stanhope, William Heyley, and Richard Willis, Doctors of Divinity, and our Chaplaines in Ordinary; John Mapletoft, Zacheus Isham, John Davies, William Lancaster, Humphrey Hodey, Richard Lucas, John Evans, Thomas Bray, John Gascorth, White Kennett, Lilly Butler, Josiah Woodward, Doctors in Divinity; Gideon Harvey and Frederick Slare, Doctors of Phisick; Rowland Cotton, Thomas Jervois, Maynard Colchester, James Vernon Junr, Joseph Neale, Grey Nevill, Thomas Clerk, Peter King, ——— Rock, John Comins, William Melmoth, Thomas Bromfeild, John Raynolds, Dutton Seaman, Whitlock Bulstrode, Samuel Brewster, John Chamberlaine, Richard King, and Daniel Nicoll, Esquires; Benjamin Lawdell, John Trimmer, Charles Toriano, and John Hodges, Merchants; William Fleetwood, William Whitfeild, and Samuel Bradford, Masters of Arts, and Our Chaplaines in Ordinary; Thomas Little, Batchelor in Divinity; Thomas Staino, Henry Altham, William Loyd, Henry Shute, Thomas Frank, and William Mecken, Clerks, and their Successors; to be Elected in Manner as hereafter directed, be, and shall for ever hereafter be, and by Vertue of these Presents, shall be one Body Politick and Corporate, in Deed and in Name, by the Name of, The Society for the Propagation of the Gospell in Forreigne Parts; And them and their Successors, by the same Name, Wee doe by these Presents, for Us, Our Heires and Successors, really and fully Make, Ordaine, Constitute and Declare One Body Politick and Corporate, in Deed and in Name.

And that by the same Name, they and their Successors shall and may have perpetuall Succession.

And that they and their Successors, by that Name, shall and may, for ever hereafter, be Persons Able and Capable in the Law to Purchase, Have, Take, Receive and Enjoy to them and their Successors, Mannors, Messuages, Lands, Tenements, Rents, Advowsons, Liberties, Privileages, Jurisdictions, Franchises, and other Hereditaments whatsoever, of whatsoever Nature, Kind and Quality they be, in Fee and

in Perpetuity, not exceeding the Yearly Value of Two Thousand Pounds, beyond Reprizalls; and alsoe Estates for Lives and for Yeares; and all other Manner of Goods, Chattells, and Things whatsoever, of what Name, Nature, Quality, or Value soever they be, for the better Support and Maintenance of an Orthodox Clergy in Forreigne Parts, and other the Uses aforesaid: And to Give, Grant, Let, and Demise, the said Mannors, Messuages, Lands, Tenements, Hereditaments, Goods, Chattells, and things whatsoever aforesaid, by Lease or Leases, for Terme of Yeares, in Possession at the Time of Granting thereof, and not in Reversion, not exceeding the Terme of One and thirty Yeares from the time of Granting thereof; on which, in Case noe Fine be taken, shall be Reserved the Full Value; and in Case a Fine be taken, shall be Reserved at least a Moyety of the full Value, that the same shall reasonably and *Bona fide* be worth at the time of such Demise.

And that by the Name aforesaid, they shall, and may be able to Plead and be Impleaded, Answer and be Answered unto, Defend and be Defended, in all Courts and Places whatsoever, and before whatsoever Judges, Justices, or other Officers, of Us, Our Heires and Successors, in all and singular Actions, Plaints, Pleas, Matters and Demands, of what Kind, Nature, or Quality soever they be: And to act and doe all other Matters and Things, in as ample Manner and Forme as any other Our Liege Subjects of this Our Realme of England, being Persons able and capable in the Law, or any other Body Corporate or Politique within this Our Realme of England, can, or may have, purchase, receive, possesse, take, enjoy, grant, sett, let, demise, plead and be impleaded, answer, and be answered unto, defend and be defended, doe permitt, and execute.

And that the said Society for ever hereafter, shall and may have a Common Seale, to serve for the Cause and Businesse of them and their Successors: And that it shall and may be lawfull for them and their Successors to change, break, alter, and make New the said Seale from Time to Time, and at their Pleasure, as they shall think best.

And for the better Execucon of the purposes aforesaid, Wee doe give and grant to the said Society for the Propagation of the Gospell in Forreigne Parts, and their Successors, That they, and their Successors for ever, shall, upon the third Friday in February, Yearely, meet at some convenient Place, to be appointed by the said Society, or the major Part of them, who shall be present at any Generall Meeting, betweene the Houres of Eight and Twelve in the Morning; and that they, or the major Part of such of them that shall then be present, shall choose one President, one or more Vice-president or Vice-presidents, one or more Treasurer or Treasurers, two or more Auditors, one Secretary, and such other Officers, Ministers, and Servants, as shall be thought convenient to serve in the said Offices for the Yeare ensuing: And that the said President and Vice-presidents, and all Officers then elected, shall, before they act in their respective Offices, take an Oath, to be to them Administered by the President, or in his Absence by one of the Vice-presidents of the Yeare preceding, who are hereby authorized to administer the same, for the faithfull and due Execucon of their respective Offices and Places dureing the said Yeare.

That Our further Will and Pleasure is, That the first President of the said Society, shall be Thomas, by Divine Providence, Lord Arch Bishop of Canterbury, Primate and Metropolitan of all England: And that the said President shall, within Thirty Dayes after the passing of this Charter, cause Summons to be issued to the severall Members of the said Society herein particularly Menconed, to meet at such Time and Place as he shall appoint: And that they, or the major Part of such of them as shall then be present, shall proceed to the Eleccon of one or more Vice-president, or Vice-presidents, one or more Treasurer or Treasurers, two or more Auditors, one Secretary, and such other Officers, Ministers, and Servants, as to them shall seem meet; which said Officers, from the Time of their Eleccon into their respective Offices, shall continue therein until the Third Friday in February, which shall be in the Yeare of Our Lord, One Thousand Seaven Hundred and One, and from thence-

forwards untill others shall be chosen into their Places in manner aforesaid.

And that if it shall happen, that any of the Persons at any Time chosen into any of the said Offices shall dye, or on any Account be removed from such Office at any Time between the said yearly Dayes of Eleccon, that in such Case it shall be lawfull for the surviving and continueing President, or any one of the Vice-presidents, to issue Summons to the severall Members of the Body Corporate, to meet at the usuall Place of the Annuall Meeting of the said Society, at such Time as shall be specified in the said Summons; and that such Members of the said Body Corporate, who shall meet upon such Summons, or the major Part of them, shall and may choose an Officer or Officers into the Roome or Place of such Person or Persons, soe dead or removed, as to them shall seem meet.

And Wee do further Grant unto the said Society for the Propagation of the Gospell in Forreigne Parts, and their Successors, That they and their Successors shall and may, on the third Friday in every Month, yearly, for ever hereafter, and oftner, if Occasion require, meet at some convenient Place to be appointed for that Purpose, to transact the Businesse of the said Society, and shall and may at any Meeting, on such third Friday in the Month, Elect such Persons to be Members of the said Corporation, as they, or the major Part of them then present, shall think beneficiall to the Charitable Designes of the said Corporation.

And Our Will and Pleasure is, That no Act done in any Assembly of the said Society, shall be effectuall and Valid, unless the President or some one of the Vice-presidents, and Seaven other Members of the said Company at the least, be present, and the major Part of them consenting thereunto.

And Wee further Will, and by these Presents for Us, Our Heires and Successors, doe Ordaine and Grant unto the said Society for the Propagation of the Gospell in Forreigne Parts, and their Successors, That they, and their Successors, or the major Part of them who shall be present at the first and second Meeting of the said Society, or at any Meeting

on the Third Friday in the Months of November, February, May, and August, yearely for ever, and at noe other Meetings of the said Society, shall, and may Consult, Determine, Constitute, Ordaine, and Make any Constitucons, Lawes, Ordinances and Statutes whatsoever; as also to execute Leases for Yeares, as aforesaid, which to them, or the major Part of them then present, shall seem reasonable, profitable, or requisite for, touching or concerning the Good Estate, Rule, Order and Government of the said Corporation, and the more effectuall promoteing the said Charitable Designes: All which Lawes, Ordinances and Constitucons, soe to be made, ordained and established, as aforesaid, Wee Will, Command and Ordaine, by these Presents, for Us, Our Heires and Successors, to be from Time to Time, and at all Times hereafter, kept and performed in all Things, as the same ought to be, on the Penalties and Amercements in the same to be imposed and limited, soe as the same Lawes, Constitucons, Ordinances, Penalties and Amercements, be reasonable, and not repugnant or contrary to the Laws and Statutes of this Our Realme of England.

And Wee doe likewise Grant unto the said Society for the Propagation of the Gospell in Forreigne Parts, and their Successors, that they and their Successors, or the major Part of such of them as shall be present at any Meeting of the said Society, shall have Power from Time to Time, and at all times hereafter, to depute such Persons as they shall think fitt to take Subscriptions, and to gather and collect such Moneys as shall be by any Person or Persons contributed for the Purposes aforesaid.

And shall and may remove and displace such Deputyes as often as they shall see Cause soe to doe, and to cause publick Notification to be made of this Charter, and the Powers thereby granted, in such Manner as they shall think most conduceable to the Furtherance of the said Charity.

And Our further Will and Pleasure is, That the said Society shall Yearely, and every Yeare, give an Account in Writing to Our Lord Chancellor, or Lord Keeper of the

Great Seale of England for the Time being, the Lord Cheife Justice of the King's Bench, and the Lord Cheife Justice of the Common Pleas, or any two of them, of the several Summe or Summes of Money by them received and laid out by vertue of these Presents, or any Authority hereby given, and of the Management and Disposicon of the Revenues and Charityes aforesaid.

And lastly, Our Pleasure is, That these Our Letters Patents, or the Inrollment thereof, shall be good, firme, valid, and effectuall in the Law, according to our Royall Intentions herein before declared. In Witnes whereof, Wee have caused these Our Letters to be made Patents. Witnes Our Selfe at Westminster, the Sixteenth Day of June, in the Thirteenth Yeare of Our Reigne.

Per. Breve de Privato Sigillo,

Cocks.

No. IX. Page 29.

AN ACCOUNT OF THE PROPAGATION OF THE GOSPEL IN FOREIGN PARTS.

SIGILLVM SOCIETATIS DE PROMOVENDO EVANGELIO IN PARTIBVS TRANSMARINIS
TRANSIENS ADIVVA NOS
The Gift of the Society for propagating the Gospel in Foreign parts 1704

What the Society establish'd in England by Royal Charter hath done since their Incorporation, June the 16th, 1701, in Her Majesty's Plantations, Colonies, and Factories: As also

what they design to do upon further encouragement from their own Members and other well disposed Christians, either by Annual Subscriptions, present Benefactions, or future Legacies.

THE PROPAGATION OF THE GOSPEL IN FOREIGN PARTS, as it is an affair of the highest importance to mankind, and therefore first given in charge to His apostles by the Son of God, when He commanded them to "*Go, teach, and baptize all nations, in the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost;*" so hath it been the chief care of Apostolic men in all ages downwards, to execute that commission for the good of souls, and the honour of their Blessed Redeemer.

How the primitive preachers of it succeeded in the discharge of their great trust in the earlier days of Christianity, we have a glorious account in the sacred writings, where we find that whilst they were acted by "*one and the same Spirit,*" the power of the Gospel was wonderfully advanced by them; 'twas no sooner risen, but like the sun, its emblem, it shone forth even upon the remotest parts of the then known world, "*giving light to them which sate in darkness, and in the shadow of death.*" But when we observe in after-times the frequent eclipses it underwent, and the strange declensions it suffer'd thro' the corruptions and dissension of those that succeeded in the later ages, 'twould afford matter for very melancholy reflections, should we too nicely enquire how our most holy religion, which in fifty days after the Resurrection of our Lord, was proclaimed at Jerusalem to men of all the nations, and in all the languages under Heaven; doth now at more than fifteen hundred years distance, thro' the prevailing influences of Judaism, Mahometanism, and Paganism, bear no larger a proportion to those other professions than that of V. to XXV. no more than which is allow'd it by the most accurate computation in its utmost latitude, as comprehends the Eastern, the Latin, and the Protestant Communions at this day.

To recover the ground lost, and for the better promoting the great ends of Providence in reducing all denominations to one fold, whether Jews or Gentiles, there have been many and zealous attempts for the conversion of Infidels in these last times.

The Church of Rome, whose emissaries compass sea and land to gain proselytes, boasts much of her Spanish, Portuguese, French, and several other missions, by which it must be confess'd, that the name and profession of Christianity hath indeed been inlarged, but mixed with such gross corruptions as very eminent persons amongst themselves have deservedly complained of, whilst the Reformed Churches of Holland, Sweden, Denmark, &c. have done more, though with less pomp, and under far less happy opportunities.

England we must confess hath been too much wanting to her self in this great concern, from whom more might have been expected, as enjoying more of the special favours of God, under a clearer light of the Gospel than many other nations; but the concurrence of many unhappy circumstances under which we have long laboured, hath obstructed the willing endeavours of many able and pious persons, who would often and heartily have come into this Evangelical work; but this noble design seem'd, by the special providence of God, to be reserved for so favourable a season, when many other pious and charitable works are carrying on in this kingdom.

'Twas during the reign of King William III. that this glorious design for advancing the kingdom of the Blessed Jesus was first effectually set on foot, who was no sooner informed by some whose hearts God had stirr'd up for this extraordinary undertaking, That in many of our Plantations, Colonies and Factories beyond the Seas, the Provision for Ministers was very mean; and many others of our Plantations, Colonies and Factories were wholly destitute and unprovided of a Maintenance for Ministers and the Publick Worship of God; and

that for lack of Support and Maintenance for such, many wanted the Administration of God's Word and Sacraments, and seem'd to be abandon'd to Atheism and Infidelity; and also that for want of Learned and Orthodox Ministers to instruct others of His Subjects in the Principles of true Religion, divers Romish Priests and Jesuits were the more encouraged to pervert and draw them over to Popish Superstition and Idolatry, but he immediately erected a Society or Corporation, consisting of many eminent personages in Church and State, as well as of a considerable number of others of almost all ranks and professions, to carry on so glorious a design; at the head of whom appear our Metropolitans of both provinces, the most Reverend Fathers in God, Thomas Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, and John Lord Archbishop of York, with the Right Reverend Father in God, Henry Lord Bishop of London, to whose jurisdiction the most of those places do belong.

The Society thus constituted, after adjusting preliminaries, as the choice of Officers, such were the President, Vice-President, Treasurers, Auditors, Secretary, &c. appointment of Deputies in the Counties to take Subscriptions, settling of By-laws and Orders for their more regular proceeding in a matter of such consequence; and admission of New-Members, (as they were empowered by the Charter to call in such to their assistance from time to time, who might appear useful men,) applied it self diligently to the great work in hand, which had soon met with a fatal period by the lamented decease of its founder, had not the good providence of God bless'd us with an equal successor to the important affairs of religion as well as state, our gracious QUEEN ANNE, who, upon an Address for her protection from the whole body of the Corporation, was pleased, in the most favourable manner, to express her self thus.

I SHALL BE ALWAYS READY TO DO MY PART TOWARDS PROMOTING AND ENCOURAGING SO GOOD A WORK.

The Society being thus encouraged by the assurances of Her Majesty's royal favour, (who had beforehand declared her approbation of what they are now doing, by her princely munificence, when the affair was in private hands only;) the work has gone on ever since, by God's blessing, with greater success than could reasonably be expected; Correspondencies are begun abroad, Deputations settling at home, many Subscriptions made, several Benefactions brought in, and divers prudential ways and means taken for the conversion of Indians, and settling the state of religion in Her Majesty's Foreign Dominions: by supplying with able and good Ministers the natives as well as English; appointing Catechists and Schoolmasters for the slaves with other ignorant persons; and sending over select Libraries for the improvement of the Clergy, as well as practical treatises for the edification of the laity.

And at the same time, it has pleased God to raise up a spirit of zeal in many of the Plantations for promoting this great and good work.

What has been done as to the several particulars mentioned, appears from the view annex'd, extracted from the journals, memorials, and letters of the Society; whence may be easily gather'd how the Society has endeavoured to answer the great trust reposed in them to the satisfaction of unprejudiced persons.

All the ENGLISH DOMINIONS on the Continent of NORTH AMERICA, from N.E. to S.W. with the INDIAN NATIONS bordering upon them.

THEIR NAMES.	PRESENT STATE OF RELIGION.	ASSISTANCE RECEIVED FROM THE SOCIETY.	DEMANDS UPON THE SOCIETY FOR MINISTERS, SCHOOLS, LIBRARIES.
The Five Nations of IROQUOIS, commonly call'd. The Praying Indians of Canada.	They have been converted to some sort of profession of Christianity by the French Jesuits chiefly, and the care of the governments of New-England and New-York; but earnestly desire further instruction from us; which if timely granted, they would be our defence as well as glory; being the constant barrier between New-York, Virginia, Maryland, and the French, and have more than once fought our battles; if not they'll probably espouse the French and Popish interest, against that of England and the Reformed Religion.	To Mr. Thoroughgood Moor 100*l.* per annum. To Mr. 100*l.* per annum. Besides which they are allowed 20*l.* towards furnishing their houses, and 15*l.* each as a supply for their libraries, &c.	For the Mohocks. For the Oncydes. 1 For the Onontages. 1 For the Cayouges. 1 For the Sinnekes, or Sinontowans. 1 For the River Indians at Shackook, a little above Albany.
NEW ENGLAND, or MASSACHUSETS, with its neighbouring Colonies. Province of *Mayne*, or *Piscataway*: *N. Hampshire*: *Plymouth*; *Naraganset*, or *King's Coun.* *Connecticut*;	In all these provinces eastward of New-York, there is no Church of England congregation; neither in Connecticut, Naraganset, Plimouth, New-Hampshire, nor that of Mayne, except at Boston, where there is a large one, having two Ministers, Mr. Miles and Mr. Bridge; and at Braintree, where a Minister is lately sent by the Lord Bishop of London.	To a Minister in the Isle of Shoales, who was upon the spot, 20*l.* for one year.	1 Minister for the people of N Hampshire: they'll do their best to maintain him. 1 Minister for Swanzy. 1 Minister for Little Compton, *alias* Seconet. 1 Minister for Tiverton. 1 Minister for Naraganset: they'll subscribe 50*l.* per annum.
NEW YORK, FIVE ENGLISH COUNTIES. *New-York*,	The Protestant religion is settled here by Act of Assembly, as establish'd in England, except in Suffolk County. There is provision for one Minister in the city and county of New-York,	To Mr. John Bartow at West-Chester, 50*l.* per annum, and a benevolence of 30*l.* To Mr. Elias Neau, catechist	1 Minister for Richmond; to whom they'll allow 40*l.* per annum.

THEIR NAMES.	PRESENT STATE OF RELIGION.	ASSISTANCE RECEIVED FROM THE SOCIETY.	DEMANDS UPON THE SOCIETY FOR MINISTERS, SCHOOLS, LIBRARIES.
NEW YORK, (continued.) *West-Chester, Richmond, Queen's, Suffolk.* FIVE DUTCH COUNTIES. *Albany, Ulster, Dutch, Orange, King's.*	at 100*l.* per annum. In Queen's County on Nassaw Island, 120*l.* for two between them. 40*l.* for one in the County of Richmond. In West-Chester a maintenance for two at 50*l.* each; besides, Her Majesty allows 130*l.* per annum for the Chaplain of the Forces: no Schoolmasters yet established, but expected suddenly so to be in the Dutch as well as English counties.	at New-York, 50*l.* per annum. To Mr. Alexander Stuart at Bedford, 50*l.* per annum, with 20*l.* and 15*l.* for books. To Mr. Patrick Gordon, Rector of Queen's County, 50*l.* per annum; since deceased.	1 Minister for Staten Island. 1 Minister for Rye; who'll be provided for there at 50*l.* per annum. 1 Schoolmaster for New-York. 1 Schoolmaster for Albany. 1 Minister for Ulster.
NEW JERSEY, EAST, WEST,	Here is no Church nor School establish'd by Act of Assembly, either in the eight English Towns, or two Dutch: but a considerable number of people that were Quakers, &c. are in a good disposition to join in communion with the Church of England ministry.		1 Minister at the Falls in Shrewsbury, where Col. Morris is building a Church, and will endow it. 1 At Amboy, where they are building another Church. 1 At Hopewell, where they are building another. 1 In Monmouth County. 1 For St. Mary's at Birlingtown, with some utensils for the Church. 1 For Croswicks.
PENSYLVANIA,	Is settled by the people of almost all languages and religions in Europe: but the people called Quakers are the most numerous of any perswasion; and in Philadelphia, the capital city there, is an Episcopal Church, having a very large congregation, supplied by Mr. Evans and Mr. Thomas his assistant, who, besides the voluntary subscriptions of the inhabitants, have a grant from Her Majesty lately of 50*l.* per	To Mr. Nichols at St. Paul's in Uplands, 50*l.* per annum, and 15*l.* in books. To the Church of St. Paul's at Uplands, a large Bible. To the Welch congregation, a Welch Bible and Common-Prayer-book. To a patent for a Minister and	1 Minister at Chester, with a dependent School. 1 Minister at New-Castle, who would do great service. 1 Minister at the Falls, 30 miles above Phila-

THEIR NAMES.	PRESENT STATE OF RELIGION.	ASSISTANCE RECEIVED FROM THE SOCIETY.	DEMANDS UPON THE SOCIETY FOR MINISTERS, SCHOOLS, LIBRARIES.
PENSYLVANIA, (continued.)	annum for the Minister, and about 30*l.* for the Schoolmaster. There is likewise here a Quaker's meeting, a Presbyterian one, an Independent one, an Anabaptist one, and a Sweedish one without the town.	Schoolmaster, 32*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* at Philadelphia. To Mr. Tho. Crawford at Dover-Hundred 50*l.* per annum, and 15*l.* for books.	delphia, where a Church is building. 1 Minister at Frankfort.
MARYLAND,	The eleven counties were divided into thirty parishes, by an Act of Assembly, 1692, besides which here are several Chapels: Popish priests and Quakers equally obstruct a good progress. Sixteen Ministers have a competent maintenance, their glebes settled, and libraries fixed, and many thousand practical and devotional books have been dispersed among the people with good effect, by the assiduous and pious care of the Reverend Dr. Bray, from whom a further account may shortly be expected.	To Mr. George Macqueen 6*l.* in money, 4*l.* in books.	About 14 Churches unprovided. Many Schools wanted.
VIRGINIA,	Divided into fifty parishes, with about thirty Chapels. Here is also a noble College erected for the education of the American youth in the studies of philosophy and divinity. Maintenance for Ministers settled by Act of Assembly, but by disuse impair'd in many places.	To Mr. Tyliard 20*l.* To Mr. Prichard 15*l.* for books.	Several Parishes not supplied with Ministers.
CAROLINA, NORTH,	Here are about five thousand souls scatter'd like sheep without a shepherd, till a Minister was sent lately to Pamphlico.	To Mr. Samuel Thomas at Goos-creek 50*l.* per an-	1 Minister for Roanook, who will be allow'd 60*l.* per annum. 1 School. 2 Ministers wanting.

THEIR NAMES.	PRESENT STATE OF RELIGION.	ASSISTANCE RECEIVED FROM THE SOCIETY.	DEMANDS UPON THE SOCIETY FOR MINISTERS, SCHOOLS, LIBRARIES.
CAROLINA, (continued.) SOUTH,	This county is not divided into parishes; however, there is a Church at Charles-Town, Mr. Marston Minister, and another is building.	num for three years, besides 47*l.* at times.	2 Schools. Some Bibles and Common-Prayer Books for the Negroes at Gooscreek.
THE YAMMONSEA INDIANS,	Mr. Samuel Thomas was sent to instruct these Indians in the Christian Religion; but finding it an improper season: his mission is respited for some time.	To Mr. Trott by the hand of Mr. Samuel Thomas 10*l.* for stuffs, by way of present to the Indians.	

N.B.—There are earnest Addresses from divers parts of the Continent, and Islands adjacent, for a SUFFRAGAN to visit the several Churches; ordain some, confirm others, and bless all.

The Reverend Mr. George Keith and Mr. John Talbot his assistant, are Iterant Missionaries, with an honourable allowance suitable to so expensive an undertaking.

Some AMERICAN ISLANDS under the ENGLISH GOVERNMENT with TWO ENGLISH FACTORIES in EUROPE.

NEWFOUNDLAND,	Has several settlements of English, with many occasional inhabitants; as workers, mariners, &c. at the fishing seasons, to the amount of several thousands: but no publick exercise of religion except at St. John's, where there is a congregation, but unable to subsist a Minister.	To Mr. Jackson 50*l.* per annum for three years, besides a benefaction of 30*l.*	
RHODE-ISLAND, belonging to *New-York*,	All under Quaker government, except one congregation of Mr. Lockyer's, who is maintained partly by a contribution from England, and partly by the people of Newport.	To the Minister and Church Wardens of Newport, 15*l.* for communion-plate, pulpit-cloth, &c.	1 Minister for Portsmouth. 1 Schoolmaster.

THEIR NAMES.	PRESENT STATE OF RELIGION.	ASSISTANCE RECEIVED FROM THE SOCIETY.	DEMANDS UPON THE SOCIETY FOR MINISTERS, SCHOOLS, LIBRARIES.
LONG-ISLAND, belonging to *New-England*,	Here are many Dutch, who have several congregations; some Independents, a few Quakers, many of the inhabitants of no religion at all.	To Mr. William Urquhart, maintained by the subscription of the Yorkshire Clergy at Jamaica, 50*l.* per annum, and 15*l.* for books.	1 Minister for Oyster-Bay. 1 Minister for Hempsteed who will be allow'd 60*l.* per annum there.
JAMAICA,	Here were fifteen parish Churches: one of which, Port-Royal, was burnt down January 2, 1702, and not retrievable; being annex'd to King's Town by a late Act of the Country which prohibits any market for the future at Port-Royal.	To Mr. Philip Bennet, Commissary there, 5*l.* for books, &c.	
ANTEGOA,	The English here residing have five parish Churches, which are of the Church of England.	To Mr. Gifford and other Ministers 20*l.*	
MONTSERRAT,	Has two parishes of the Church of England likewise.	To Mr. Arbuthnot 20*l.* for books.	

FACTORIES IN EUROPE.

MOSCOW,	Here is a factory of English merchants, as at Arch-Angel, where they reside alternately; to whom the Czar has been graciously pleased to give lately as much ground as they shall desire to build a Church upon, with other conveniences for the Minister, &c. who uses the Liturgy of the Church of England, and who is desired to incert the Czar's name and his sons in the Litany and Prayers for the Royal Family.	To Mr. Urmston, a benefaction of Greek Liturgies and Testaments for the courtiers; of vulgar Greek Testaments for the common Muscovites; and of English practical books for the youth and servants of the factory, &c.	

THEIR NAMES.	PRESENT STATE OF RELIGION.	ASSISTANCE RECEIVED FROM THE SOCIETY.	DEMANDS UPON THE SOCIETY FOR MINISTERS. SCHOOLS, LIBRARIES.
AMSTERDAM.	For the interest of the English nation, the honour of its Establish'd Church, and comfort of its members residing here in peace and war, as gentlemen, merchants, soldiers, seamen, &c. The Burgomasters have given a piece of ground for building an English Church: till that can be compass'd, a private Chapel is made use of, where there is a pretty good Church of England Congregation.	To Dr. Cockburn, 50*l.* per annum for two years.	

N.B.—Some Common-Prayer-Books in 8vo. with other Devotional and Practical Books, are very much desired by the people, both in the Islands and on the Continent.

From the foregoing View, may be observed,

I. What the Society has already done towards the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts.

II. What they have before them to do still in that important business.

III. What encouragements they hope for to enable them to go through so great a work.

I. WHAT the Society hath already done towards the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, since the date of their Charter, June 16, 1701.

1. That they might answer the main end of their Incorporation, they have actually commission'd two Missionaries at a very great expence, and are soliciting maintenance from the Crown for four more, who are at least wanting, for the conversion of the Praying Indians of Canada, whose souls we must be accountable for, if we neglect longer to instruct them in the faith of our blessed Redeemer, when God has so wonderfully open'd their eyes, their hearts, and their very tongues, so as to call to us, as those of Macedonia did to the apostles of the Gentiles, "*Come over and help us.*" To which purpose, so remarkable are the words of one of their Sachems or Kings, in the name of the rest, in which they sensibly exprest their concern for such a Mission, to the Commissioners for the Indian affairs in Albany, June 28, 1700, as appears by an original extract of the Earl of Bellamont's to the Lord's Commissioners of Trade and Plantations, October 25, 1700, that they highly challenge a place in this account, to the exceeding comfort of all such good Christians as hope that their redemption draws near. "We "are now come to trade," saith he, "and not to speak of religion, only

"thus much I must say, all the while "I was here before I went to Canada, "I never heard any thing talk'd of "religion, or the least mention made "of converting us to the Christian "faith; and we shall be glad to hear "if at last you are so piously in-"clined to take some pains to in-"struct your Indians in the Christian "religion; I will not say but it may "induce some to return to their na-"tive country. I wish it had been "done sooner, that you had had Mi-"nisters to instruct your Indians in "the Christian faith, I doubt whether "any of us had deserted our native "country: but I must say, I am "sorely beholden to the French of "Canada, for the light I received to "know there was a Saviour born for "mankind; and now we are taught "God is every where, and we can be "instructed at Canada, Dowaganhae, "or the uttermost parts of the earth, "as well as here"

And in a later conference with the Lord Cornbury, those five Sachems or Kings of the Iroquois, promised him at Albany, "obedience to the faith of Christ," told him, they were "glad to hear the sun shined in England since King William's death;" admired at first that we should have a "Squa Sachem;" *viz.* a woman king, but they "hoped She would be a "good mother, and send them some "to teach them religion as well as "traffick;" then sent some of their country presents to Her Majesty, signed the treaty, and "made the covenant so sure, that thunder and lightning should not break it on their parts."

Nor has the Society turned their thoughts only on the Indians in the northern parts of the English dominions, but have sent also one Missionary for the service of the Yeomansee Indians to the south of Carolina, who having been lately engaged in a war with the Spaniards, and every day in danger of an invasion from them, were not in a condition to receive instruction, nor was it thought fit by the Governours to trust him yet amongst them, but as soon as 'tis practicable to treat with them, there are assurances he shall leave the neighbourhood, where he is instructing many souls as much neglected as the former, the Negroes of Gooscreek.

2. The Society has not only had a regard to Infidels, but, as becometh Christians, has taken care of its own country-men, in sending Ministers with good allowances to the several parts along the continent of North America, where they were most wanted, and the harvest is ripe for such labourers, who will faithfully resist and oppose the progress of Atheism, Infidelity, Quakerism, Antinomianism, ignorance, and immorality, which have hitherto fatally overspread those infant Churches.

3. They have made suitable provision also for some of the islands, those too much neglected parts of Her Majesty's territories, by a supply of two Ministers, without any charge to the people, and have otherwise supported eight more in the islands, and on the continent in such manner as has been requested.

4. That the Factories mention'd in the Charter might not be altogether insensible of its concern for them, there has been a Settlement compass'd for a congregation at Amsterdam, with the consent of the Magistrates of the place; and since encouragement given to the promising beginnings of a Church at Moscow, of which the Czar himself has laid the foundation by bestowing as much ground as shall be desired for that use upon the English merchants.

All this the Society hath done upon the bare Annual Fund of about 800*l.* per ann. with the accession of only 170*l.* occasionally subscribed: the amounts of which together do hardly answer the demands of the present Missionaries and Ministers, &c. abroad, with the incidental charges of the Corporation at home: therefore,

II. What the Society has still before them to do in this important business, calls for more than ordinary Benefactions from without, whilst the yearly Subscriptions of the incorporated Members falls short of 1000*l.* per ann. and that voluntary too. A slender bottom, upon which to begin the conversion of the Indians mention'd, to build them up in our most holy faith, and to provide Ministers Catechists, Schoolmasters, Libraries Churches, &c. for a continent wel

peopled under several Governments 1200 miles in length upon the sea-coast, as well as for the islands of Newfoundland, Bermudas, Jamaica, the Bahama, and Caribbees; in some of which there is yet no provision of Ministers, or of any support for them, and in all the others much fewer than the publick service of God, and the instruction of the people doth usually require: which prospect, should it be enlarg'd by a view of the future care that is to be had of the remaining Factories and places to which we trade in Asia, Africa, and Europe it self, where they live as it were without God in the world, to the great reproach of the Christian religion, except at Hamborough, Lisbon, Smyrna, Aleppo, Constantinople, Fort St. George, Surat, &c. which are well supplied by our worthy Merchants that trade or live there; what an invitation is hereby given to the liberality of well disposed Christians to whom God has given more than a competency, with the unspeakable blessing of hearts graciously disposed to employ the surplusage to His honour and glory?

Since then this great work of maintaining the Christian religion and propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts, calls aloud for the utmost assistance, and appears upon the view to be worth all our pains and cost; it is to be hoped,

III. That the Society will meet with suitable aid and encouragement to enable them to go thro' so glorious a work as is now before them of reducing infinite numbers both of Pagans and nominal Christians from the power of Satan unto God: and therefore,

1. As Her Sacred Majesty has been a shining example to her subjects in this cause of God, by extending her royal bounty and charity towards it: so it is hardly desired,

2. That all her good subjects, in their several stations, will be forward in their proportions to promote God's honour and the good of souls;

That the nobility and gentry, (as some have already done to their honour) would all of them add a peculiar lustre to their characters, by assisting so noble a design with a liberal hand.

That the Ministers of extraordinary qualifications, men of temper, of prudence, of learning, pious conversation, affection to the establish'd government, and above all, of Apostolical zeal, would willingly offer themselves to so great a harvest, where the labourers are few.

That the Merchants and rich Traders, who have reap'd their temporal things plentifully by the labours and pains of those poor ignorant or mis-led creatures, would be at last prevail'd upon "*to sow to them spiritual things*" in as great abundance; that all people, in short, to whom this notification shall come, (without the formality of a brief or general collection, as has been practised in these cases with good success in other kingdoms) will give their helping hand to so laudable an attempt which may do their own souls and the nation so much good.

It is not to be expected that many should rise up to the example of an unknown lady, who has cast in lately 1000*l.* into the treasury of this Society: but he doth acceptably who gives according to his ability.

The Treasurers for the year 1703, *are,*

Mr. John Trimmer, Merchant, living on College-Hill.

Mr. John Hodges, Merchant, living in Elbow-Lane near College-Hill.

The Secretary to the Society is,

John Chamberlain, Esq; in Petty-France, Westminster.

At a Court held at St. Martin's Library, Feb. 4, 1703.

RESOLVED, That the Thanks of this Society be given to the Reverend Mr. Stubs for the great care and pains he hath taken in preparing the New Account of the Proceedings of the Society.

RESOLVED, That this Order be printed at the foot of the said Account.

London, Printed by Joseph Downing, in Bartholomew Close, near West-Smithfield, 1704.

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